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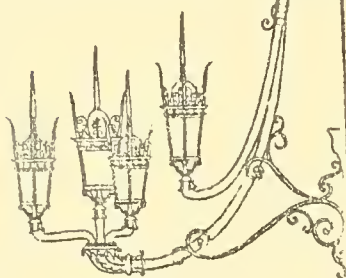
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THE INFLUENCE OF AN URBAN UNIVERSITY
AS A CATALYST TO COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT: A CASE
STUDY OF BOSTON

COLLEGE

[draft]



MAURICE V. DULLEA

FEBRUARY
1968

[Wickford, R.I.]

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION - NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In the past few years, there has been a considerable amount of public interest in the evolution of the traditional "town vs. gown" concept. A number of universities have involved themselves to varying degrees with the problems of their communities, whether neighborhood, municipal, metropolitan, or regional. Boston College has been one of the forerunners in this area of community service, devoting extensive efforts, funds and facilities to the solution of urban problems and the advancement of sound urban growth in the Boston metropolitan area.

Since 1954, this university, a four-year Roman Catholic institution of higher learning located in Boston and Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, has been actively involved in matters of this nature. In that year, B.C.'s College of Business Administration initiated what has become an annual series of seminars devoted to the discussion and solution of the economics, fiscal, and political problems of the Boston metropolitan area. These seminars have normally been conducted on the campus, and have been open to the general public. However, Boston College does operate a division entitled "Bureau

of Public Affairs," which through formal invitations, seeks to encourage leaders from various fields (business, government, labor, churches, urban-related professions, etc.) to attend the seminars.

Each seminar is devoted to a single topic, and four persons, often local or national experts in the area under discussion, head the list of speakers. A question and answer session is then held, followed by a cocktail hour and dinner, where conversations on the topic of the day take place in a more informal and relaxed atmosphere. Members of the press and other news media are constantly in attendance, with the result that the public is always promptly informed of the subject discussed, the problems involved, and the solutions proposed.

The purpose of this study is to determine as accurately as possible the effects, if any, of these seminars upon community development and growth in Boston. It is felt that the method and results of the Boston College seminars merit detailed investigation, in order to ascertain whether a valuable contribution was in fact made by the university to the community, and the implications this might have for similar endeavors in other urban areas. It is deemed equally important that the planner be familiar with the potential role of the urban

university as a tool in the development and/or implementation of plans, and as an aid in provoking community interest and formulating public opinion.

CHAPTER II

BOSTON'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AT MID-CENTURY

By the middle of the twentieth century, Boston, the city which once proudly boasted of itself as "Hub of the Universe " and "Athens of America" was no longer in much of a position to boast about anything. For Boston's better days were in the past, the present was in the doldrums, and the future held only threats of further decline. In a comparison with other major U. S. cities, Boston fared extremely poorly. Her population was declining rapidly. In 1948, Boston drained its residents of more revenue, \$158.70 per capita, than any other urban center with the exception of Washington, D. C. ¹ Her total per capita taxes of \$104.60 were again second to the same city.² In the area of property taxation, Boston in 1948 was second only to Detroit, depending upon real property taxation for 96.4% of her total taxes.³ Boston's percentage of tax-exempt real property was the highest in the nation,

¹United States Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1957 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), Table 4.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

approximately 40%. Her Assessing Department personnel were in the habit of over-valuation, in many cases assessing a building for tax purposes in an amount in excess of that building's market value. Such dependence upon and abuses of the property tax combined to make Boston an increasingly unattractive place in which to do business.

By 1954, Boston's downtown was beginning to show definite signs of deterioration. Since the end of World War II, this area of the city had lost between seventy-five hundred and ten thousand jobs, most of them in manufacturing, wholesale, and retail employment. It lost some \$10 million in retail sales, less than some big cities but enough to drop central business district sales down below fifty per-cent of the metropolitan region total for the first time.⁴ Downtown also lost over twenty-five per-cent of its residential population during this period.⁵ These people had been the main support of hundreds of small shops in the downtown area. Boston's retail district indeed seemed to be on its last legs. Ancient in its buildings, in its growth lagging sadly behind the suburbs, downtown boasted only two large department stores. These were the massive Jordan-Marsh,

⁴"Boston", Architectural Forum, June, 1964, p. 99.

⁵Ibid.

biggest store in New England, and Filene's, seven stories of medium high-style merchandise plus an extremely successful bargain basement, which accounted for nearly half of Filene's downtown gross. In ten years, \$78 million of taxable assessments had evaporated just in the central business district.⁶

The reasons for this disappearance were obvious. In 1953, Filene's paid in retail and property taxes to the city of Boston a total of \$873,548. This was more than double the ~~real~~^{estate} tax paid by two bigger New York city stores, and over eight times the tax paid by two Ohio stores, each larger than Filene's.⁷ On the basis of tax rates adjusted to full value of property, Boston taxes were about three and a quarter times as high as the average of twelve American cities of 500,000 to one million population.⁸ Partially as a result of this oppressive tax structure. Boston's taxable valuations in 1954 were only seventy-five per-cent of what they had been twenty-five years earlier.⁹

⁶Walter McQuade, "Boston: What Can a Sick City Do?" Fortune, June, 1964, p. 134.

⁷Remarks of Harold Hodgkinson, Third Citizen Seminar, January, 11, 1955, Proceedings of the 1954-55 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 67.

⁸Remarks of Alfred C. Neal, Fourth Citizen Seminar, February 14, 1956, Proceedings of the 1955-56 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 115.

Between 1924 and 1954, Boston lost approximately \$400 million in valuations. Among the fifty-two cities in the country measured by the National Association of Assessing Officers in 1954 and 1955, Boston was the only city in the country to show a loss in real estate valuations.¹⁰

Aggravating the tax situation was Boston's already large and still growing percentage of tax exempt structures, of which it had more by far than any other major city.¹¹ Between 1946 and 1954, only thirty-five per-cent of all construction in Boston was for private or taxable use; the remaining sixty-five percent was for federal, state, municipal, religious, charitable, or other tax-free purposes.¹² Since 1932, property owned by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts alone had grown one hundred and fifty per-cent to almost \$145 million, or eighteen per-cent of the city's tax-exempt land.¹³

⁹Remarks of Councillor John F. Collins, Boston City Council, Sixth Citizen Seminar, April 10, 1956, Proceedings of the 1955-56 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 153.

¹⁰Remarks of Robert H. Ryan, Second Citizen Seminar, January 15, 1957, Proceedings of the 1956-57 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 62.

¹¹Fortune, op. cit., p. 135.

¹²Remarks of Joseph W. Lund, Fourth Citizen Seminar, February 8, 1955, Proceedings of the 1954-55 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 74.

While retailing declined, wholesaling was perhaps suffering even more greatly. In Boston, the downtown district lost some four thousand jobs in wholesaling between 1947 and 1954, and in the latter year it retained only about thirty-five per-cent of the metropolitan area's activity in this trade. During the same period the rest of the metropolitan area gained approximately nine thousand five hundred wholesaling jobs.¹⁴ Physical decay, obsolete goods-handling facilities, and traffic congestion all worked together to make it uneconomical for the large warehouses to remain downtown.

The plight of manufacturers in Boston was little different from that of the retailers and wholesalers. In the period between 1919 and 1952, factory employment in Boston decreased sixteen per-cent, while in the nation as a whole it increased forty-nine percent. The value added by manufacture in Boston somewhat more than doubled in this period while nationally it quadrupled.¹⁵

¹³1957 Legislative Program (Boston: Conference of Civic and Business Organizations, mimeographed, no date), p. 12.

¹⁴Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, Associates of the Committee for Economic Development, A Report on Downtown Boston, Policy Statement, Part 2 (Boston: Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, May, 1959), p. 10.

¹⁵Remarks of Carl J. Gilbert, Third Citizen Seminar, January 11, 1955, Proceedings of the 1954-55 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 63.

In more recent years, Boston's manufacturing employment fell from 101,485 in 1947 to 95,115 in 1954.¹⁶

Not only did high taxes discourage large manufacturers from remaining in or moving to Boston, but small firms found rough going as well. Rapidly aging buildings with antiquated facilities were not being replaced in Boston, so small firms, not sizeable enough to consider construction of their own plants, looked to the suburbs and other cities for more modern space and equipment. In mid-century, it was estimated that ^{per-cent} eighty of the city's taxable real estate was at least twenty-five years old, and that ^{per-cent} sixty was more than fifty years old.¹⁷

There seemed to be little interest on the part of Boston's elected representative or civic leaders to attract new development. There existed no municipally-sponsored industrial development commission. Promotion of industrial development by the city's Chamber of Commerce was for the most part lackadaisical. Other cities, including far smaller ones, were easily outspending Boston in search of new development. In comparison with Boston's 1954 expenditures of \$11,900, Birmingham, Alabama spent

¹⁶United States Bureau of the Census, 1954 Census of Manufacturers: Volume III - Area Statistics (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 120-124.

¹⁷Lund, op. cit., p. 74.

\$110,000; Chicago \$100,000; Jacksonville, Florida, \$98,000; Baltimore, \$65,000; Shreveport, La., \$45,000; and even Worcester, Massachusetts, \$45,000. ¹⁸

Choice sites were few, and Boston desperately needed new land areas in close proximity to the center of the city for industrial and commercial development. The concept of obtaining new land through the use of urban redevelopment, which had caught on extensively in other cities since its inception in 1949, had not really been utilized to any degree in Boston by 1954. Only one project, known as the N. Y. Streets Redevelopment Area, had been undertaken, and progress in the economic regeneration of this particular area had been negligible. Further hampering the city's renewal efforts was the administrative machinery which existed at the time. The Urban Renewal Division of the Boston Housing Authority, the only public agency with urban renewal as its full-time responsibility was a subordinate part of an organization whose prime task was the management of public housing. A coordinating committee, established to pull

¹⁸Remarks of C. Edward Holland, Third Citizen Seminar, January 10, 1956, Proceedings of the 1955-56 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 100.

renewal activities together, was loose and unwieldy. It was not sturdy enough to plan and execute a city-wide program of large dimension. Most of the members of the coordinating committee had major responsibilities outside of urban renewal, and necessarily had to handle their renewal assignments as secondary activities.¹⁹ Strangely enough, Massachusetts statutes enabled every municipality in the commonwealth to create a separate redevelopment authority, with the exception of Boston.

The out-migration of Boston's resident population to the suburbs can be attributed to the age and condition of the city's housing supply, as well as to the more traditional causes such as readily available FHA and VA mortgages in new suburban developments, and the growing Negro population in the core city. The overall age of Boston's buildings has already been cited. The Boston City Planning Board in 1955 estimated that at the time of the last Census of Housing, half the dwelling units in the city of Boston were in areas that needed rehabilitation or clearance. Of the 220,000 dwelling units in Boston at the time, 57,000, or 25%, were locat-

¹⁹Conference of Civic and Business Organizations, op. cit., p. 11.

ed in blocks where 20% or more of the dwelling units were dilapidated and/or had no private baths.²⁰ The city administration even had to go to the extent of appropriating five hundred thousand dollars to eliminate the worst of the abandoned buildings. The New York Streets redevelopment project tore down houses that were not replaced, further aggravating the housing shortage. The Chamber of Commerce reported that one of its studies had determined that many highly paid executives, who would have preferred to reside in apartments within the city, were forced instead to seek housing in the suburbs.²¹

From 1951 to 1956, an estimated 71,000 new dwelling units were built in the Boston metropolitan area, as defined by the Bureau of the Census. Of this number, only 10,000 were actually erected in Boston, and 7000 of these units were public housing.²²

Urban redevelopment aside, even the general function of planning had been overlooked in Boston, let alone any planning by the city in cooperation with its surrounding

²⁰Ryan, op. cit., p. 61.

²¹Bernard Frieden and M. Levine, Report on Metropolitan Problems (Boston: Americans for Democratic Action, December 7, 1957), p. 3.

²²Ibid.

cities and towns. In expenditures for planning purposes, Boston was ~~one of the~~ lowest in the nation, whether the city was classified with other cities its own size or just with cities in general regardless of size. The following table is indicative of Boston's attitude toward planning in the middle of the twentieth century.²³

<u>City</u>	<u>Expenditures-Total</u>	<u>Per Capita</u>
Cleveland	\$297,000	.32
Pittsburgh	\$201,000	.30
Philadelphia	\$423,000	.20
Los Angeles	\$497,000	.19
Boston	\$ 80,000	.09

Salaries in the Planning Department were low and recruiting of qualified persons nonexistent. In 1954, the senior man in Boston's City Planning Department was paid \$8000 annually. His immediate assistant received \$6400.²⁴ No intensive study of Boston's economic base had ever been undertaken, and without such an aid, any meaningful planning is impossible.

Boston in 1950 was surrounded by a balkanized collection of rampantly independent suburbs, each of which

²³International City Managers Association, Municipal Yearbook, 1954 (Chicago: International City Managers Association, 1954).

²⁴Remarks of Councillor William J. Foley, Boston City Council, Sixth Citizen Seminar, April 10, 1956. Proceedings of the 1955-56 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 193.

jealously guarded its autonomy and wanted no part of Boston and its problems. This was indeed ironic, because Greater Boston had once pioneered in regional planning. The Planning Division of the Metropolitan District Commission, which operated regional water, park, and sewerage systems, existed from 1922 until 1938, and was one of the first regional planning agencies in the nation.²⁵ As early as 1926, it recommended the extension of the Metropolitan Transit Authority over the Highland Branch to Riverside, in Newton. In 1938, the powers of the Division were transferred to the State Planning Board, which was in turn absorbed by the Department of Commerce. Although the Department of Commerce had always had some residual and a clear legal responsibility for regional planning, it had never had the funds or the personnel to do the job.²⁶

Boston's traffic and transportation situation was unsatisfactory at mid-century, yet little action was being taken to provide significant improvements. Downtown's narrow, twisting streets were a natural for congestion,

²⁵Remarks of Ernest Henderson, Fourth Citizen Seminar, April 4, 1957, Proceedings of the 1956-57 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 88.

²⁶Ibid.

making the city unattractive to shoppers, expensive to trucks delayed by traffic jams, and bothersome to surface public transportation.

Underground, Boston still has the famous Metropolitan Transit Authority's subway, but there had been few changes, extensions, or improvements in facilities or service for fifty years. People were moving to less densely populated suburban communities, but the MTA was not permitted to go after them and retain them as riders. In just four years, between 1950 and 1954, the system lost 63,620,032 riders.²⁷ Perhaps if adequate terminal parking facilities had been provided at outlying MTA stations, people could have been persuaded to leave their cars there and complete the journey to work by rail. But a total of only 3930 spaces were available at all MTA stations,²⁸ a number totally inadequate in view of the 191,000 cars entering the downtown area daily.²⁹

Due to rising costs as well as steadily declining patronage, the MTA deficit was rising rapidly. In 1930, the authority's costs of service exceeded its receipts by \$1,134,638; in 1954 the corresponding figure was

²⁷Letter of Martin F. McKeon, Supervisor, Customer Service Center, Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority December 14, 1967.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Remarks of William A. Heilly, Second Citizen Seminar, December 7, 1954, Proceedings of the 1954-55 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), -p. 47.

\$6,473,393.³⁰ The existing method for assessing the MTA deficit and principal payments on the rapid transit debt was a heavy, unjust financial burden on the city of Boston. For example, in 1955 Boston was charged 66.1 per-cent of the MTA deficit, as opposed to 64.4 per-cent in 1954, despite its steadily declining population.³¹ The method used to assess the share of the deficit was a questionable traffic-count formula. There was no consideration of such other factors as population, miles of MTA track per community, or valuation of assets.

Resistance to the MTA and to the possibility of having to share in its operating deficit prevented the metropolitan community from enjoying modern, coordinated rapid transit service. Chapter 544 (10a - 10 b) of the General Laws of Massachusetts in 1948 gave the MTA, with the approval of the State Department of Utilities, the right to extend its rapid transit system outside of the fourteen cities and towns making up the authority. The acceptance by the public on an extension would depend on the outcome of a public election. In order to speed up the MTA's plans, a special act, Chapter 151, March 18, 1948, was passed by the Legislature instructing the

³⁰McKeon letter, op. cit.

³¹Conference of Civic and Business Organization, op. cit., p. 1.

municipal officials of Braintree and Quincy to hold a special election within thirty days after receipt of the request. The election was held, and the proposed South Shore MTA extension was defeated by the overwhelming margin of seven to one.³²

Boston's role in the area of international transportation had, by 1950, become a mere shadow of what it once had been. Even though the city possessed one of the finest natural harbours in the world, internal strife and bickering between labor and management had driven up the cost of freight handling to a level high enough to discourage most ships and lines from calling there. In 1860, Boston was second only to the port of New York in port traffic. By 1950, more than half a dozen cities separated Boston from New York in tonnage handled. And yet Boston's port officials did not seem willing or able to attempt to overcome the obstacles to Boston's port business. In Megalopolis, French geographer Jean Gottman describes this "drying up" of the Port of Boston, especially in terms of decreases of liner calls and general-cargo traffic; and he further states, "... of the Megalopolitan 'big four' ports, Boston has today

³²McKeon letter, op. cit.

the most modest plans and ambitions."³³

But perhaps the greatest obstacle to progress and new growth and development in Boston was the "Chinese Wall" that divided portions of the city's populace. In one corner were the Boston "Brahmins," honorable descendants of the city's earliest settlers, who had grown rich, first by investing in Boston itself, and in more recent years in far-flung ventures in oil and west coast real estate. Their investments within Boston itself had become minimal, although their trust funds were bulging in the city's banks.

The reason for the Brahmins' withdrawal from economic and political life in Boston was the influx of other ethnic groups, chiefly Irish, to the city during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Irish began migrating to Boston during the potato famine of 1846-48, and arrived in such great volume that they soon came to dominate all other groups in sheer numbers. By 1899, the Irish outnumbered the Yankees on the City Council for the first time, and by 1910 were in firm control of the city.³⁴

³³Jean Gottman, Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1964), p. 535.

³⁴Murray Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 4.

Unable to compete politically with the newcomers, and more than disturbed by the questionable political ethics and maneuvers of the Irish, the Brahmins retired from Boston politics, but proceeded to acquire enough power in other areas of the state to enable them still to exercise influence over the city from the Massachusetts State House. Since Boston has never had what is popularly termed "home-rule", it was at the mercy of the state legislature for nearly any change or improvement it attempted to make. Even the city's Licensing Board and police force were controlled by Beacon Hill.

Because of the breach that existed between the two factions, and the mutual distrust and hostility that accompanied it, Boston's fortunes began to take turns for the worse. Progress became slow and then negligible. As described earlier, the lack of new development resulting from the situation caused the city to deteriorate, the tax rate to climb, the more affluent citizenry along with industry and commerce to relocate in outlying areas, and in summary, contributed to a general state of despair.

Perhaps the most authoritative diagnosis of the ailment is one which was presented by municipal engineering specialist Fessenden Blanchard, retained by the city

of Boston at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars early in the 1950's to provide an analysis of her problems. The Blanchard Report summarized its findings as follows:

"We are confronted with the crucial difficulties created by deep-seated racial, religious, and political cleavages. The position in economic issues which many of us take is heavily colored by the factors of race, church, and party. In consequence, the development of a common approach to, and a common understanding of the essential economic factors is extraordinarily difficult."³⁵

³⁵Remarks of William E. Mullins, Third Citizen Seminar, January 10, 1956, Proceedings of the 1955-56 Series of Citizen Seminars (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, no date), p. 103.

SUMMARY

Boston in the middle of the twentieth century was a city in an advanced state of decline. Her taxes were astronomical by any standard, her tax base rapidly decreasing, and the outlook for new physical development bleak. Not only did Boston lack prime land areas for the attraction of new development, but her municipal, civic, commercial and industrial leaders seemed incapable of or unwilling to take the steps necessary to initiate remedying the situation. Urban redevelopment and city planning were functions which were low on the lists of priority and achievement, and Boston lacked even the analysis of her economic base vitally necessary for sound redevelopment and planning.

The greatest obstacle to Boston's progress in almost every sphere was the cleavage existing between her established and her more recently-arrived residents. With the one group holding most of the economic power of the city, and the other nearly all of the political influence, even the setting of commonly acceptable goals was an impossible task. Mayor Hynes, although he was not considered to be one committed to the perpetuation of this arrangement, was nevertheless incapable of providing the leadership necessary to unite the city's two factions.

CHAPTER III

THE SEMINARS - THEIR ORIGIN AND PURPOSE³⁶

I. Arranging The First Seminar

Boston having descended to the lowest point in her economic, fiscal, and political history, the future to most looked extremely bleak, and the means of dealing with it equally dismal. It will never be known just how many individuals and groups were attempting to find some way out of the morass into which the city had fallen. One of those most concerned, however was a young Jesuit priest with a Ph. D. in Economics from Harvard, who had recently been appointed Dean of the College of Business Administration (CEA) at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Partly because of his field of scholastic endeavor, and partly because of his position as chief administrator of a professional school of business, Rev. W. Seavey Joyce, S. J., was particularly aware of Boston's troubles.

When Fr. Joyce arrived at B. C. in 1952, there was very little active involvement of that university or any

³⁶ This chapter is based on a conversation between the author and Rev. W. Seavey Joyce, S. J., Vice President, Boston College.

university in the city of Boston or in the country in local urban or metropolitan affairs. One result of this situation was that B. C.'s CBA had no connections with the Greater Boston business community, a situation which Fr. Joyce felt needed to be remedied. B. C. at the time did have a CBA Advisory Board, composed of some rather prominent Boston businessmen, but this board had never really functioned effectively and had recently become inactive. Fr. Joyce arranged a meeting with members of the Advisory Board to determine if it could be agreed in which direction the board's efforts could be most fruitfully directed. It was decided at this meeting that CBA would conduct and sponsor what was to become the first annual Boston College Conference on Greater Boston's Business Future. Fr. Joyce was subsequently assisted by the Advisory Board members and by Rev. John Collins, S. J., head of the Business School's Finance Dept., in the planning and organizing of this conference.

The First Annual Conference, held early in 1954, was moderated by Mr. Daniel Bloomfield, Advisory Board Member and Executive Vice President of the Retail Trade Board of Boston. Bloomfield was chosen as moderator because of his recent success in the same position at

the Boston Conference on Distribution. The B. C. Conference was generally agreed to be a success, although no great enthusiasm resulted from it. But it did mean that now B. C. was "involved", and according to Fr. Joyce, had every intention of continuing to be so involved.

At about the same time as the B. C. Conference, an organization called the Boston Citizens Council was beginning to become concerned about the business and political future of Boston. This recently-formed group was composed of fifteen prominent Bostonians, and was headed by Mr. Joseph Lund, Executive Vice President of Cabot, Cabot, and Forbes Realty Company, Industrial Park Developers. The executive director of this Council was Mr. John T. Galvin, Public Relations Director for the Massachusetts Taxpayers Association. The Taxpayers Association released Galvin to half-time duty, in order to enable him to spend the other half of his time with the Boston Citizens Council.

The Council was aware of the success, however modest, of B. C.'s First Annual Conference on Greater Boston's Business Future, and many of its members were anxious to work with B. C. in planning future conferences. Galvin arranged a luncheon on June 23, 1954,

held at the First National Bank of Boston, to explain the B. C. Conference idea to selected members of the top echelon of Boston business. At this same luncheon Mr. Joyce also planned to introduce a related idea, that of a series of seminars on Boston's economic, fiscal, and political problems, to be run annually by CBA. This luncheon was attended by ranking members of the city's two traditionally warring groups, the Irish Catholics and the Brahmins, and included in addition to Mr. Joyce and Galvin; Fr. Collins; Ephron Catlin, host and Vice President of the First National Bank; Robert Ryan, of the Massachusetts Business Development Corporation; a Mr. Sullivan, also a First National Vice President; Thomas Joyce, lawyer and lobbyist; and Joseph Lund.

The luncheon began politely, with Mr. Lund presenting Fr. Joyce with an appropriate gift, a copy of a book by Miles Colean, Resurrecting Our Cities. However, as the minutes passed, and the discussion began to come closer to the roots of the issue, i.e., mutual cooperation and inter-group relations, the old hostilities, temporarily latent, began to flare. The luncheon soon became, in Fr. Joyce's own words, a scene of "acrimonious conflict." The old Boston Yankees and "new and immigrant" Irish

Catholics that day came near to the point of physical violence. The atmosphere of clear and rational discussion having been demolished, the luncheon was finished, and many hopes fell that mutual cooperation was imminent between Boston's rival factions.

Shortly after the boisterous luncheon, Fr. Joyce, not dismayed over the harsh words and clenched fists, telephoned John Calvin, who had remained placid during the explosive noontime session of a couple of days earlier. They agreed that the Conference and Seminar ideas were too meritorious to be allowed to be so quickly dropped. On June 30, 1954, Fr. Joyce and Calvin met and conferred at B. C., the former again indicating to the latter that despite the recent setback, he still desired to pursue to Seminar idea. Calvin was in complete agreement, and together they decided to schedule another luncheon, this time to be held at B. C.'s Alumni Hall.

Fr. Joyce again contacted a group of influential business people, including most of those who had attended the first luncheon, in order to interest them in attending a second luncheon, where the idea of the seminars might be discussed in more detail than was permitted at the earlier session. In the meantime, a small luncheon was held, attended by Fr. Joyce, Fr. Collins, Calvin,

Bloomfield, and Mr. Arthur Kelly, Treasurer of H. H. White's Company, a major downtown Boston retailer. The purpose of this luncheon was to inform the business community in general what B. C. had in mind.

On July 19, 1954, Fr. Joyce's second attempt to launch the seminar idea was held at Alumni Hall. This affair brought together many people who previously had never met, primarily because they were leaders of factions which up to then had operated and conducted their business in near-total isolation from all the other factions in the city. The idea of the Seminars — what they would be, how they would be conducted, what they were intended to accomplish — was presented. The reaction was something less than wild enthusiasm, but nonetheless there was a feeling of willingness, of reluctant but necessary acceptance of the idea, among those in attendance.

Despite the lukewarm result of July 19, it became obvious that the seed of hope had been planted. Many conversations took place after the luncheon, particularly between Galvin and others who had attended. Other informal luncheons and get-togethers of various members of the July 19 group took place, including that of July 27 at Boston's Algonquin Club, on August 9 which Boston Mayor John B. Hynes attended, and August 10 at the Harvard Club. All of these meetings were preparatory

to the first Boston Citizens Seminar, which was held at the university on October 26, 1954.

II. The Reasoning Behind The Seminars

Fr. Joyce was asked where he first got the idea for an annual series of seminars as a partial answer to the problems of the city of Boston. In 1951, Fr. Joyce was attending Harvard University pursuing his Doctor of Philosophy degree. One of his courses was a two-hour seminar in labor relations conducted by a Professor Schlichter. The seminar was held from four to six p.m. on a weekday afternoon, following which Professor Schlichter generally invited those students who were interested to join him for cocktails and dinner, during which time the issues raised at the afternoon's seminar were freely and openly discussed.

Another factor in the conception of the B. C. seminars was the aforementioned Blanchard Report, a study of the problems affecting industrial productivity in Massachusetts and Greater Boston. The Blanchard Report presented such a pessimistic view of Boston's present and future economy and finances that it was suppressed, and never published nor in any way made available to the general public. One of the few persons to have access to the

Blanchard Report was Stanley Teele, Dean of Harvard University's Graduate School of Business. Dean Teele formed a committee to explore the problems raised by the Report and to suggest what might be done to reduce or eliminate the inter-group conflicts. Monsignor Francis Lally, editor of the Boston Pilot, Boston's archdiocesan newspaper, was a member of the Teele Committee. Fr. James Sullivan, S. J., at that time the Dean of B. C.'s CBA, was also invited to join, but instead appointed Prof. James Devlin as his representative. The Committee made little progress.

The Teele Committee held a meeting, which Fr. Joyce attended, on May 18, 1954, three days after B. C.'s First Annual Conference on Boston's Business Future. The purpose of this meeting was to suggest that the Teele Committee disband, its efforts to that point having been ineffective. As far as future endeavors aimed at accomplishing what the Teele Committee had failed to achieve, Fr. Joyce brought up the fact that B. C.'s Conference had received good publicity, and could be considered as having been a moderate success. He explained that the university was planning to carry forward the material and theme of this conference in some form into succeeding years, and one of the problems which interested them particularly was the matter of group con-

flicts. Dean Teele is said to have given thought to the idea of Harvard's acting along the same lines, but admitted that it would probably be fruitless, as Harvard's "image" in Irish Catholic Greater Boston was such that it could not expect to attract many Irish Catholics to sessions on that side of the Charles River, no matter how well-intentioned or praiseworthy Harvard's efforts might be. Dean Teele then agreed with Fr. Joyce that E. C. would probably be the most effective site for the holding of sessions dealing with the city's future.

The Teele Committee never formally disbanded; but it was understood that E. C. should continue its interest in the problem of group relations, and that if there should be occasion for the Teele Committee to become active again, it would do so. In point of fact, the Teele Committee just ceased to exist.

III. The First Seminar

The initial Boston Citizens Seminar was an event well-publicized in advance by the Boston press. Invited to attend had been four hundred of the most prominent and respected leaders in numerous fields of activity; business, government, labor, education, the professions, and the churches, to name a few. The seminar format

consisted of the following: 3:15, registration; 4:00, formal program; 5:15, questions; 6:30, social hour; 7:15, dinner; 8:00, adjournment. The day's events and B.C.'s objective were voiced in the opening remarks of Very Reverend Joseph R. N. Maxwell, S. J., President of Boston College:

"It is truly an honor for me to extend to you, gentlemen, our guests, a sincere welcome to Boston College. The distinction which you bring to our university in choosing to make it the depository of your hopes, your ambitions and your plans for the future of Boston is deeply appreciated. It will be my pleasure and my pride to record these meetings in our annuals that future generations may know and appreciate your devotion to your city and the small but happy part we play in furthering it. Your presence here today gives ample proof of your vital interest in the subjects to be discussed. Though we all share in this interest and devotion I know you will agree with me that His Honor, Mayor Hynes, is among the most devoted and the most interested. His participation in this, the first of these Seminars, is an appropriate one, and to him, for his inspiring leadership over many years, and to our chairman, Mr. Thomas H. Carens, for his stimulating dedication, I extend a very special greeting and a word of thanks for their part in the program. I know that they and all of you are one with us in our hope that these seminars will result in a constructive contribution to the sound economic and social development of the Boston Community. . . . If I may speak on behalf of my own institution, I should like to note that Boston College has a genuine interest in these matters. We have been a part of the Boston community since 1863, and though much of our campus is now in Newton, we still have important schools in Boston. Most sincerely we feel that we are privileged that we may have even a small place in

the contribution that these Seminars will make to the community welfare. We are happy to put our facilities at your disposal, and we trust that our mutual efforts will be crowned with complete success."

Mayor John E. Hynes, main speaker of the afternoon concluded his remarks and proposals with similarly optimistic words:

"I hope that these conferences at the Boston College School of Business Administration will serve to open the doors to broader and more informed thinking in our community. I hope, too, that this series of conferences will open the doors to action."

Mayor Hynes had directed his remarks towards five major matters:

1. Equalize valuation and assessment of properties.
2. Broaden the city's tax base.
3. Eliminate traffic congestion and the parking problem.
4. Obtain the assistance of private industry in solving urban problems.
5. Adopt a new zoning code.

The reaction in the press to Mayor Hynes' remarks, to the first Seminar itself, and over the next few months, to the entire series of Seminars, is believed is to a valuable index in gauging the communications aspect of

the seminars. The seminar was page one headline news in all of the Boston papers on October 27, and well commented upon for a number of days thereafter. The subsequent seminars continued to receive extensive coverage, and during the six seminars of the 1954-55 academic year, over thirty-five hundred lines of newsprint, plus forty-two editorials, were counted. That the Seminars were being favorably received by the press is evident from the titles of editorials: "Boston's Beckoning Light," "Confidence First," "Gaining Enthusiastic Support", "Sage Advice", "Boston in Revolution", "For Boston", "Planning for Progress," "Everybody's Boston," "Seminars for a Better Boston," "A Foot Inside the Door," "Planting the Seed," "B.C. Seminars Aid Boston," "Coordinated Boost," "A Prouder Boston."

Further material on the impact of the seminars as a communications vehicle is contained in Chapter VII.

IV. Summary

The events leading up to the first Boston College seminar comprised a sensitive and complex process. The process required numerous telephone calls, face-to-face confrontations, meetings and luncheons essentially planned, organized, and carried out by a group of three men

attempting to undo in a few weeks what decades of irrational hostility had brought about.

The reasons behind the seminar concept were many and valid:

1. Fr. Joyce's knowledge of the success of the seminar format as experienced in his economic courses at Harvard.
2. The facts outlined by the Blanchard Report.
3. The moderate success enjoyed by B.C.'s Conference on Boston's Business Future.
4. Boston College's general acceptance within the Boston Community by both Yankees and Irish.
5. The recognition by Dean Teele and other local business school heads that Boston College would be the site most acceptable, for conferences of the required nature, to the greatest number of persons.

The first Boston College Citizen Seminar on the Fiscal, Economic, and Political Problems of Boston attracted over four hundred of Boston's most influential citizens, who heard B. C. President Rev. Joseph Maxwell cite the reasons for the university's sudden community involvement, and Mayor John B. Hynes' proposals on how to commence Boston's physical and economic regeneration. Metropolitan Boston's population of two and one-half million was informed of B.C.'s move and Hynes' hopes that evening on radio and television, the next morning

by newspaper headlines and news stories, and for a number of weeks thereafter by newspaper editorials and commentaries.

CHAPTER IV

SEMINAR SPEAKERS AND THEIR PROPOSALS

I. The Calibre of Seminar Speakers

The speakers at the E. C. seminars were from the very beginning men of experience, wisdom, "savvy", and wide reputation . From the initial seminar in October, 1954, until 1965, over two hundred speakers arose to address seminar audiences. Of this number slightly more than one-third were municipal or state elected officials. Included in the category have been two mayors of Boston, John B. Hynes and John Collins; three governors of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Charistian Herter, Foster Furcolo, and John A. Volpe; numerous state senators and legislators from Boston and its neighboring municipalities; and Richard Lee, mayor of New Haven, Connecticut. Speakers holding politically appointed positions represented a wide variety of fields: Chairman, Boston Board of Assessors; Commissioners, Boston and Massachusetts Public Works Departments; Chairman. Boston Traffic Commissioner; Development Administrator, Boston Redevelopment Authority; Chairman Metropolitan District Commission; Massachusetts Commissioner of Corporations and Taxation, Director, Boston Administrative Services Department;

Planning Administrator, Boston City Planning Board; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Metropolitan Transit Authority; Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources; Commissioner Massachusetts Department of Public Health; and Chairman, Mass. Transportation Commission.

The next largest faction has been that of business and industry. Speakers in this category have included, by position: President, First National Bank of Boston; President, Gillette Safety Razor Company; Managing Director, Filene's Department Store; Executive Vice President, R. M. Bradley Real Estate Developers; Vice President, Cabot, Cabot, and Forbes Real Estate Managers and Industrial Park Developers; First Vice President, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; President, New England Mutual Life Insurance Company; Vice President, Boston Five Cent Savings Bank; President, Sheraton Corporation of America; President, Merchants National Bank; President, Boston and Maine Railroad; President, Greater Boston Real Estate Board; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce; Chairman and Vice president, Arthur D. Little Company, Chairman of the Board, First National Bank of Boston; President, Jenney Refining Company; President, Boston Edison Company; President,

Boston Patriots; Executive Vice President, Boston Red Sox; Senior Vice President, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company; and others.

Members of the press and other forms of mass media also had their chance to express their views. Some members of this category include: John R. Doscher, Assistant to the Publisher, LIFE Magazine; Lester Allen, Chief Editorial Writer, Boston Post; Erwin D. Canham, Editor, Christian Science Monitor; C. Edward Holland, City Editor, Boston Record; William E. Mullins, Political Editor, Boston Herald; John I. Taylor, Promotion Manager, Boston Globe; David Brickman Publisher and Editor, Medford Mercury and Malden News; and Douglas Hashell, F.A.I.A., Editor, Architectural Forum.

In addition to the above, many other areas of concern have been represented on the speaker's rostrum at the seminars; leaders of civic organizations; well-known attorneys; the clergy; organized labor, technical and professional consultants; and respected academicians including John T. Howard, Professor and Chairman of the Department of City and Regional Planning at M.I.T.; Dr. Paul Studenski, Professor Emeritus of Economics, N.Y.U., and Director of the Graduate Program in Public Administration, State University of New York at Albany; and

Dr. Bradbury Seasholes, Professor of Political Science and Director, Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University.

II. The Problems Considered

The speakers at the Boston College seminars have been people who have tried in the manner they believed most effective to contribute to the physical and social progress of Boston. Some preached, some lectured, some quietly presented distasteful facts concerning the health of the city and offered prescriptions for their cure. A summary of problems discussed and proposals offered provides a concise view of what a great many well-qualified persons felt to be wrong with the city, and what these persons believed would help to right these wrongs.

There has been general agreement throughout the history of the seminars that the greatest obstacles to Boston's urban progress and health have been an overly cautious and conservative attitude toward promoting and attracting new physical construction, as well as the city's extremely burdensome property tax rate and assessment and valuation policies.

The recommendations most frequently proposed concerned the urging of both business and government to get involved in the then relatively new concept known

as urban redevelopment and urban renewal. In connection with this, it was urged that the city's planning function be strengthened, that zoning be improved, codes enforced, an economic base study undertaken, and good urban design considered in the accomplishment of all these ends. A total of forty-eight recommendations have been offered in this area.

The next most critical area, with twenty-seven proposals centered around the Metropolitan Transit Authority. In offering thoughts for that organization's future, seminar speakers felt that the greatest needs were that of planning and constructing extensions to the transportation system which would reach the areas of recent suburban growth. They felt that such a move, coupled with the provision of adequate parking at outlying suburban stations, could transform the MTA into a profit-making operation. Suggestions also concerned the creation of a wholly new transportation authority, which could serve the seventy-eight communities of metropolitan Boston, as well as apportion^{ing} MTA costs to each of those towns and cities by means of a formula which would include consideration of use and population.

Closely following urban redevelopment and rapid transit planning have been proposed solutions directed

at making Boston a more competitive city through the creation of a more favorable economic climate. Chief target in this attack has been the city's exorbitant property tax rates and well as its questionable assessment and valuation policies. Suggestions for the creation of this new climate have included aiming at greater governmental efficiency through personnel and budget cuts and the proposal of a tax-protection plan for the attraction of new large-scale land development enterprises.

Twenty-three times speakers have gone to the Fulton Hall rostrum and urged that Greater Boston municipalities desist from remaining an uncooperative conglomeration of balkanized communities, and consider the idea of regional or metropolitan planning. Twenty-one addresses have included pleas to Beacon Hill (Mass. State House) that a more equitable system of state aid be arranged where the problem-ridden nearly-bankrupt city of Boston could receive an equitable and proportionate share of state aid to cities and towns. The following listing shows the order of priority of the thirteen areas in which hopes and plans for the future have been suggested since the initial seminar in 1954:

1. Urban redevelopment and renewal; effective

planning, zoning, code enforcement, economic base study; consideration of high quality urban design; a dynamic renewal administrator; involvement of private sector in redevelopment process; creation of a World Trade Center.

2. Metropolitan Transit Authority—extension, improvement, effective planning, reorganization, cost-sharing, terminal parking.

3. Business climate; assessment policies, real property tax level, tax-protection plans, municipal government cost reduction, new forms of revenue.

4. Metropolitan and regional planning.

5. State aid; sharing of metropolitan and court costs; state adoption of welfare services; enactment of state sales tax.

6. Comprehensive transportation planning; commuter rail service; downtown traffic problems, parking; master highway plan, inner belt connection.

7 Housing—public housing, rehabilitation, conservation, relocation, housing shortage.

8. Municipal facilities—new sports stadium, new convention hall, new city hall, etc.

9. State Civil Service reform.

10. Port Authority—exploration of port facilities.

11. Acquisition of maximum available Federal aid.

12. Racial problems, school system, busing.

13. Home rule for Boston.

III. Topical Evolution

The theme of seminar topics has undergone a process of evolution since their earliest years. The earlier

seminars were more directly concerned with matters relating to municipal government, "group dynamics" between the city's leaders, urban redevelopment and planning, and the city's relationships with its neighboring communities. Topics of a different nature have begun to be discussed in more recent years, indicating a change from the politics-economic arena toward the area of people and aesthetics, or, from the concrete to the abstract. An examination of the titles of seminars from 1954 to 1965 displays this trend. This list of titles is found in Appendix- *B* - .

IV. Summary

The speakers who have appeared at Boston College seminars and offered their suggestions have more often than not been men of a high calibre, and include nationally and internationally prominent and respected authorities in numerous fields. Those who were in a position to act positively on proposals—that is, Boston's financial community, were among the groups most well-represented. The problems whose solutions were given the highest priority related to urban redevelopment, city and regional planning, mass transportation coordination, and the voluntary involvement of the city's private sec-

tor. More recently, the seminars have begun to be concerned with such more sophisticated matters as urban aesthetics, issues concerning racial difference, and education, and the sociology of family relocation.

CHAPTER V

CURRENT STATUS OF SEMINAR PROPOSALS

The purpose of this chapter is to begin to align what has taken place in Boston since 1954 with the courses of action proposed at the various B. C. seminars. Resources utilized to accomplish this include my own knowledge of the city of Boston, excerpts from the Boston Redevelopment Authority's comprehensive plan, from mass media publications dealing with recent events in Boston, and from public agency official reports.

I. Urban Physical Development and Redevelopment

The most visible progress which has been made in Boston since 1954 has been in the realm of new physical development, urban redevelopment and renewal. In that period of time, Boston has begun to evolve from a physically-obsolete city with an abundance of blighted charm to a perhaps less charming but far more visually-striking and economically viable urban center. Not all of Boston's new development has been sound by currently-accepted planning standards. For example, in its rush to exchange the old for the new, the city hastily razed to the ground a stable but lower-class residential area of nine thousand persons (the West End) in order to secure land for

a high-rent high-rise apartment complex (Charles River Park). Relocation of dispossessed West End residents was an afterthought in the redevelopment process with little follow through, and as a result the West End lives today in the memories of urban renewal critics throughout Boston and the nation.³⁷

In 1957, Prudential Insurance Company of America, was enticed by the offer of an attractive tax-protection plan--agreed to by the Mayor's Office and a majority of the city's business leaders--to construct its Northeast Regional Offices in Boston, plus a hotel, high-rise luxury apartments, commercial facilities, a twenty-five hundred-car parking garage, and more--a venture originally estimated at one hundred million dollars in cost, but which is presently a proaching a figure fifty per-cent higher.

In 1960, Mayor-elect John F. Collins lured from New Haven Mayor Richard Lee's Development Administrator, Edward J. Logue, a man who already attracted national attention because of his success in New Haven's renewal. One of Logue's first actions in Boston was to demand complete authority over city-wide planning, to

³⁷For a detailed analysis of the West End's Redevelopment, see Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers.

the effect that the City Planning Board and its responsibilities were merged with the Boston Redevelopment Authority by an act of the Massachusetts Legislature in September, 1960. This merger of a City Planning Board and a Redevelopment Authority is unique throughout the nation.³⁸

Prudential's confidence in Boston's future has inspired the confidence of manifold other investors. British interests have constructed the twenty-story State Street Bank office building. The Christian Science Mother Church has undertaken an extensive development venture consisting of the construction of modern church facilities, middle and low-income housing, shopping and office space, and landscaped public open spaces.

Much of Boston's waterfront and pier area is being economically and physically revitalized by a unique new aquarium, three forty-story apartment towers, four-hundred moderate-income dwelling units, a three hundred and fifty-room motel, restaurants, and other assorted structures. When completed it will have cost over one hundred and twenty million dollars, about eighty-five per-cent of that in private funds.³⁹

³⁸"The Boston Development Program" (mimeographed handout circulated during Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of City and Regional Planning student studies project jury presentation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 24, 1965).

³⁹"Old and New Boston", Nation's Cities, Vol. 5, No. 7 (July, 1967), 11.

The city's central business district, which lies between the waterfront at the new Government Center, has not been neglected. A four-year cooperative effort by a businessman's group headed by Charles Coolidge, and planners of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, has resulted in a program which, with government approval and aid, will make Boston's downtown perhaps the most modern and attractive in the country. There will be a new department store topped by five levels of parking, and near to this another new thirty-story office building. At least three more office towers, including a sixty-five story-effort by John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, are planned, as well as shopping malls, theaters, plazas, and a Liberty Tree Park. Several of the city's major stores stand ready to build additions to their present facilities. A new building program is being designed for a rundown rail terminal area known as the South Station.⁴⁰ Between five hundred and one thousand new hotel rooms will be added to what Boston already has, as will about fifteen hundred apartment units. When completed, the refurbishing of the central business district will have cost \$400 million--three-quarters of which will be represented by private investment.⁴¹

BRA - planned and Federally-assisted urban renewal

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

projects are in evidence throughout the city, headed by the massive Government Center, formerly the infamous Scollay Square. In 1965, at the one-third mark in its fifteen-year, City-Wide Development Program, Boston contained thirteen federally-assisted Urban Renewal projects in various stages of planning and execution, one locally-assisted project, two code enforcement areas, and four major private projects receiving public non-financial assistance. The ten centrally located General Neighborhood Renewal Plan areas covered one-fourth of the City's land and contained almost one-half of its population.⁴²

Appendix C lists Boston's redevelopment accomplishments in a more detailed manner.

II. Mass Transportation

Action to improve public transportation did not take place as quickly as did redevelopment activity. The first step in this direction was the creation by the State of the Mass Transportation Commission, with its \$5.4 million demonstration program of subsidies to public transportation. The MTC gave \$3.6 million of federal money and \$1.8 million provided by the state to the MTA and com-

⁴² Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1965/1975 General Plan for the City of Boston and the Regional Core (Boston: Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1965), figs. 1-3.

muter rail and bus lines to improve service and lower rates. Passenger volumes increased as much as forty percent and were still growing when the program ended in April, 1964.⁴³

Next came the \$5 million, three-year Boston Regional Planning Project (BRPP); its aim was to bring together all of the agencies shown in figure ~~one~~, gather up-to-date data on land use and travel for one hundred and fifty-two municipalities, and feed everything into computers to predict the probable consequences of various over-all transportation policies. In 1963, a permanent Metropolitan Area Planning Council was established, bringing forty-six communities directly into the regional planning process to act on BRPP's findings.⁴⁴

On August 3, 1964, five men raised their hands in the Senate Chamber of the Massachusetts State House and received the oath of office from then Governor Endicott Peabody. Thus the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, voted into law in June by the General Court, became a going concern, charged with implementing a new concept in mass transportation for Boston and the other seventy-seven communities making up the metropolitan area, an area embracing upwards of two and one-half million persons, approximately half the Commonwealth's

⁴³Architectural Forum, op. cit., pp. 109-112.

⁴⁴Ibid.

BOSTON REGIONAL PLANNING PROJECT

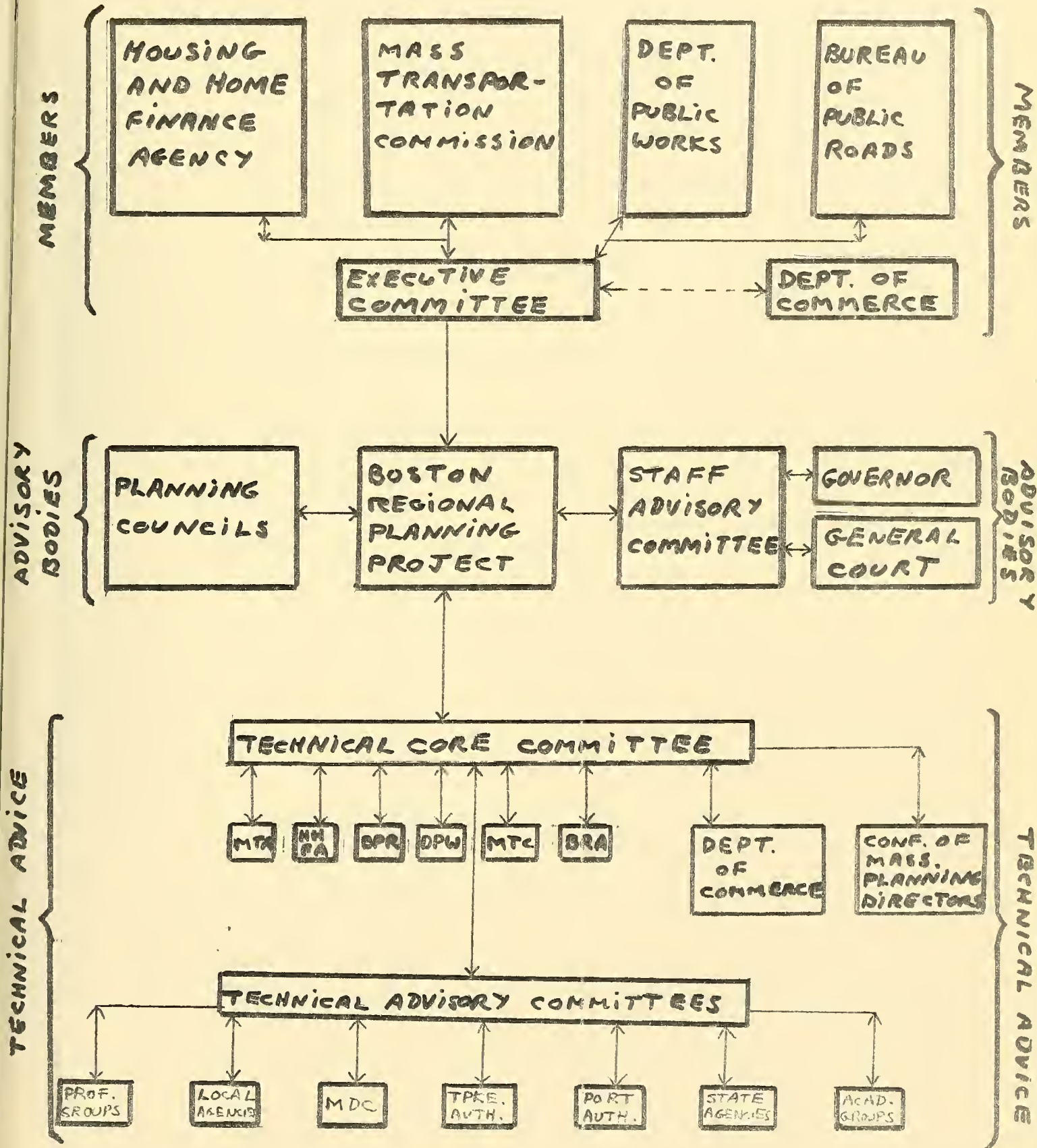


FIGURE 1.

population.⁴⁵ The creation of the new authority drew the attention of the United States transit industry and it prompted the then President of the American Transit Association to describe the MBTA bill in the following manner: ". . . unquestionably the most daring and provocative legislative action ever taken by state government in support of transit."⁴⁶

In its first fiscal year the Authority undertook to prepare a comprehensive program for construction, extension, modification, and improvement of the mass transportation facilities existing in its seventy-eight town and city areas. The comprehensive program included a long-range development plan, an implementation schedule, and comprehensive financial estimates. Planning studies for the program were initiated soon after the Authority came into existence and included cooperative, coordinated planning with the Department of Public Works, the Department of Commerce and Development, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, and other related agencies.⁴⁷ The means for implementing its program was provided by an authorization for the issue of \$225 million of bonds.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, First Annual Report (Boston: Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, 1965), p. 6.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 16.

The method of computing service charges to the member municipalities of the MBTA is too detailed to include here, but it suffices to say that Boston now pays a more equitable portion than previously.

III. The Economic Climate

There has been an evident improvement in the economic and business climate in Boston since mid-century. If this had not occurred, the city would necessarily still be stagnating. This improvement has only partially come about as a result of a somewhat restrained tax rate. It is true that during most of Mayor Collins' administration the tax remained steady. In fact, by the cutting of twelve hundred jobs from the municipal payroll, Collins was able to lower the tax rate by small amounts for four years in a row, from \$101.20 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation in 1959 to about \$96 in 1965.⁴⁹ But not even Collins and all of Boston's new private development have been able to make this trend a permanent one. Beginning in 1968, Boston faces a tax rate of over \$117 per thousand, making it once again the nation's stiffest. Yet the new development continues, and there is no downswing in new development in sight. Instead, it has been the city's

⁴⁹McQuade, op. cit., pp. 4, 8.

continued acceptance of the Predential-type tax formula which provides firms with the tax-protection they require to invest in Boston. The realization by management that it will be paying a certain percentage of gross rent received (in the vicinity of twenty per-cent) makes Boston a very attractive city in which to build.

IV. Metropolitan Planning

The emergence of metropolitan or regional planning in and around Boston was partially included above in the section on mass transportation. Appointed by Governor Peabody as Chairman of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) was Rev. W. Seavey Joyce, long an ardent proponent, both inside and outside of the seminar conference room, of metropolitan planning. Selected as Executive Director of the Council was Mr. Robert Davidson, a former research associate at Boston College's Bureau of Public Affairs, sponsoring agency of the seminars. The MAPC's powers are limited, and the Council at present is largely advisory in nature.

V. State Aid

Two achievements of recent years stand out in this area. In 1966, Governor John Volpe's three per-cent

limited sales tax was finally passed by the legislature, providing a new source of revenue for every community in the state, especially in funds for educational purposes. In 1967, the Legislature agreed to the Commonwealth's appropriating the task of providing welfare services. Massachusetts had been the last welfare holdout in the country, and her locally-administered welfare services were an anachronism of local empires with questionable levels of service and intolerably high costs to the state's larger cities. Boston, however, still shoulders the entire administrative burden of Suffolk County, while Chelsea, Revere, and Everett still contribute nothing. Boston has yet to devise a means of charging commuters for services they use but which Boston residents and firms support.

VI. Housing

Boston cannot yet lay claim to any great level of overall achievement in its housing situation. There has been a boom in high-rise high-rent apartment construction. What has not yet been determined is whether the tenants for these new units are coming from outside the city or are leaving better-grade apartments in Boston's other areas. There is still some resistance

to urban renewal in parts of the city, especially in ethnic pockets of Irish and Italians. The "West End image" of urban renewal is gradually being overcome by the BRA's concept of "planning with people." Sections of the architecturally-destinctive South End are being bought up by middle and upper-middle class families. However, as this occurs, the former tenants of these buildings, mostly Negroes, are being forced in greater numbers into Roxbury-North Dorchester, and into other formerly all-white neighborhoods. There is fear among many residents of these areas that they will before long be engulfed by a black migration; thus there is a growing instability even in today's sound neighborhoods. The most extensive urban renewal project in the ghetto thus far has been highly-publicized Washington Park, with its attractive garden apartments and modern row-houses. But not even Washington Park, Boston's showcase for ghetto renewal, has been without its problems.

A substantial number of garden apartments housing projects of the 221 (d) (3) types have been sponsored by such churches and labor unions. This program, part of the 1961 Housing Act, makes available very low-cost financing for non-profit sponsors, which can obtain one hundred per-cent mortgages. Similarly, limited-dividend corporations can obtain ninety per-cent mortgage financing in return for restricting annual income on investment

to six per-cent.⁵⁰ Rentals in 221 (d) (3) apartments are often in the range of seventy five dollars per month for one-bedroom units to one hundred and five dollars for four-bedroom apartments. But even these rents are still too high for most displaced slum families.⁵¹

More recently, rent-supplement experiments have been tried in Boston, but the quasi-war-economy of the past year or so has caused funds for programs such as these to dwindle to an inadequate level. A start has been made in solving Boston's housing problem, but the bulk of the work remains yet to be accomplished.

VII. Municipal Facilities

A World Trade Center has been created. The focus of the new Government Center is Boston's nearly completed City Hall, a massive, controversial piece of cement architecture of the "new brutalist" school. The building contains six hundred thousand square feet of floor space, and was chosen as the best of two-hundred fifty entries in a national design competition.⁵²

Adjacent to the Prudential tower is the new War Memorial Auditorium which, since opening less than three

⁵⁰United States Housing Act, 1961, Section 221 (d) (3).

⁵¹McQuade, op. cit., p

⁵²Architectural Forum, op. cit., p. 91.

years ago, has given Boston's economy a powerful stimulus. It has helped make the city one of the top ten in the nation in conventions, and is booked solid through 1969. More than that, it has other bookings through 1975. Based on the bookings for 1967 alone, 270,575 visitors will file into the six-thousand-seat Auditorium or its exhibition halls for conventions or shows, and it is estimated that the average conventioneer will spend one hundred and twenty-five dollars while he is in Boston. Thus, the dollar value to the Boston economy in 1967 from this one source will be about \$34 million.⁵³

Boston's soon-to-be-renewed waterfront will feature a radically-designed (by Cambridge Seven) new aquarium. The sports stadium, which for so long has been a matter of vital local interest, has yet to find a suitable developer, whether private, public, or something-in-between. The Boston Patriots have announced that they must have a stadium "soon" or will be forced to relocate in another city, and bids have been made for the Boston Red Sox by municipalities possessing or promising superior athletic facilities.

VIII. State Civil Service

A few minor changes have been made in the Common-

⁵³Nation's Cities, op. cit., p. 10.

wealth's Civil Service Laws. However, as a result of intensive lobbying by veterans' organizations, absolute veterans' preference still exists. Methods of promotion are still questionable, and incompetent employees nearly impossible to dismiss, so that as an employer, the state remains particularly unimpressive and unattractive. Since the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council's professional employees are subject to Massachusetts Civil Service laws, the recruiting of qualified competent personnel is difficult.

IX. Massachusetts Port Authority

The Massachusetts Port Authority was created in 1954 and seemingly offered great promise for the Port of Boston's future. Yet today, for the most part, the Port is no better of than it was in 1954. Management and long-shoremen are still polarized groups, and wages are so high that Boston remains an unattractive port at which to call. A few years ago the dynamic firm of Sea-Land, Inc., was interested in constructing elaborate port terminal facilities in Boston, but labor refused to permit the required modernization of cargo-handling methods. As a result, Sea-Land took almost its entire new operation to Port Elizabeth, New Jersey.

X. Federal Aid

This section might more appropriately be included under redevelopment, but is being listed separately because it is one area where an oft-repeated seminar exhortation was carried out extensively. Since seriously commencing its redevelopment and renewal activities, Boston, primarily through the efforts of Development Administrator Edward Logue, had by 1965 obtained a total of \$195 million in federal money, which is more money per capita than any other city in the country has received from Washington for that purpose, and a sum of Federal Urban Aid outranked in total only by New York City.⁵⁴

XI. Racial Issues and Schools

This has become the most sensitive area in Boston's spectrum of problems. Practically all responsible studies undertaken recently on the Boston schools criticize the system on a number of issues: obsolete physical facilities; outdated teaching tools and methods; an overly-conservative corps of teachers, unable or unwilling to understand the problems of the city's minority groups (mainly Negroes); and racially-imbalanced schools, which some,

⁵⁴"The Boston Redevelopment Program," op. cit.

though not by any means all, educators feel adversely affect non-white students in the minority-dominated schools. The State Legislature has passed a racial imbalance law which threatens to withhold state aid if the imbalances are not redressed. The Boston School Committee has been more oriented toward proving the imbalance law unconstitutional than correcting the imbalance. Negro groups, using their own funds as well as some federal money, have initiated programs to bus school children to the white areas of the city and even to the schools of outlying suburban communities which volunteer to join the program.

Thus far new school construction has been slow, state funds withheld as threatened and Boston's white citizens generally incensed at the Negroes' efforts to integrate "their" schools.

XII. Home Rule

Boston as yet does not have "home rule" powers, and it appears unlikely that it will gain them in the near future.

XIII Summary

Boston's greatest advances since mid-century have

been in the area of urban redevelopment and renewal, comprehensive planning, an improved public transportation administration, the improved business climate and mutual cooperation, and state and federal financial aid.

The purpose of this chapter is not to infer causality between the seminars and the recent advances which Boston has experienced, but to begin to establish a relationship or correlation between what seminar speakers felt were the most critical needs of the city and what subsequently actually did take place.

CHAPTER VI

I. Community Power "Overlap"

In attempting to assess the impact of the Boston College seminars, an effort was made to determine the city's "community power structure." It was felt that if an overlap could be demonstrated between persons influential within the Boston community and the body of persons closely involved in helping to plan the seminars, then it could be deduced that the seminars were in this way serving as a means of contributing to a directed regeneration of the city. The latter of these two groups is the Seminar Planning Committee, a collection of local elite personnel, mostly active in business and industry, whose function it is to assist Fr. Joyce and Mr. Robert J. M. O'Hare, Director of E.C.'s Bureau of Public Affairs, in the selection of seminar topics and speakers.

One publication was utilized in determining the city's most powerful persons. ("Powerful" here implies power in the political and economic sense.) This publication is the Directory of Directors in the City of Boston and Vicinity, published annually by the Bankers

Service Company of Boston.⁵⁵ The Directory lists the name of every person in the greater Boston area who is a director of one or more Boston firms, institutions, or organizations, and includes an enumeration of each of these person's directorships. It is believed that if a number of Seminar Planning Committee members can be demonstrated as being among those directors with an above average number of directorships, then it can be rightfully deduced that these persons have the power not only to influence the selection of seminar topics, but also to enable them actually to follow through the process of proposal implementation.

The Directory for 1965 includes the names of 5288 directors and 15,440 directorships, or an average of approximately three directorships per director. Of the twenty-seven members of the Seminar Planning Committee, sixteen are directors. The number of directorships held by members of this group is two hundred and forty-four, or an average of over fifteen each. Five members of the Planning Committee hold in excess of twenty directorships, while Sidney Rabb, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Stop and Shop, Inc., with thirty-one, is exceeded in this capacity by only one of the entire 5288.

⁵⁵ The Bankers Service Company, Directory of Directors in the City of Boston and Vicinity (Boston: The Bankers Service Company, 1965).

A second significant overlap was evidenced during this research. Certain national publications⁵⁶ have made references to an influence group in Boston identified simply as the Coordinating Committee. Architectural Forum identified Gerald Blakeley, chief executive of Cabot, Cabot and Forbes, Inc., as:

"...one of the founders of the Coordinating Committee, a little-known but potent group of key businessmen who took it upon themselves in 1958 to provide a means of constructive communication between business and city hall. Ever since John F. Collins became mayor in 1960, he and the Committee have kept their line of communications wide open -- and all of Boston has benefitted from it."⁵⁷

A Fortune article of 1964⁵⁸ is similarly descriptive of the Coordinating Committee, but refers more to the efforts of Charles Coolidge (see Chapter) than of Blakeley.

It has been learned that members of the Committee believe that the key to its success is its anonymity. This notion was inferred to the author in a discussion with Mr. Coolidge, and more bluntly stated by Committee member Francis Gummere, Secretary and Board Member of William Filene's Son Company. In September, 1967, an article in the Boston Sunday Globe local supplement

⁵⁶Architectural Forum, June, 1964 and Fortune, June, 1964.

⁵⁷Architectural Forum, op. cit., p. 85.

⁵⁸Fortune, op. cit.

15.

(~~see 2nd page of report~~) pictured and identified all members of the Coordinating Committee, or "the Vault," as the Globe referred to them. The Globe's story revealed that three of the fourteen-man "Vault" are members of the Seminar Planning Committee: Mr. Carl J. Gilbert, Chairman of the Board, The Gillette Safety Razor Company; Mr. Ephron Catlin, Jr. (moderator of initial seminar in 1954), Senior Vice President, The First National Bank of Boston; and Mr. Ernest Henderson (since deceased), Chairman of the Board, Chief Executive Officer and Director, Sheraton Corporation of America.

Messers, Gilbert and Henderson are also members of the Boston College Board of Regents, as are two other Vault members: Mr. Richard Chapman, Chairman of the Board, Chief Executive Officer and Director, New England Merchants National Bank; and Mr. Ralph Lowell, Chairman of the Board and Director, Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company. (Mr. Lowell alone exceeds Mr. Sidney Rabb in the number of directorships held).

Other vault members, although not members of the Seminar Planning Committee or the Board of Regents, are also included here because of their seminar speaking appearances:

1. Three appearances: Charles Coolidge.

60.

2. Two appearances: Lloyd Grace, Chairman of the Board and Director, The First National Bank of Boston; Harold Hodgkinson, Chairman of the Executive Committee and Director, William Filene's Sons Company.

3. One appearance: Gerald Blakeley

II. Conclusions

The intensive overlapping of personnel among the Seminar Planning Committee, Boston's elite directors, the Boston College Board of Regents, and seminar speakers indicates that the B.C. Seminars were necessarily among the prime catalysts toward whatever advances, progress, and new development has taken place in Boston in the last decade. It is unlikely that large-scale urban regeneration of a physical and economic nature could occur without the zealous cooperation of a city's core of economic power wielders. And it is here evident that Boston's economic power elite considered the Boston College seminars a sufficiently effective catalyst with which to ally themselves to an extensive degree.

CHAPTER VII

NEWSPAPER IMPACT ANALYSIS

I. LINES OF NEWSPRINT

A measure of the strength of a communications vehicle is its ability to "make the news," to reach the public through the mass media. Since much of the development which has taken place in Boston since the seminars began has required the cooperation and support of elected officials and hence of the voting public as well, it was therefore first necessary that voters be informed and educated concerning the city's most urgent problems, the solutions which were being proposed, and the means of arriving at these solutions.

The Boston College seminars have since their inception displayed a consistent ability to reach a wide public audience. For example, only two of the fifty-six seminars held between October 27, 1954 and April 27, 1966, failed to be reported by the Boston Globe.

By means of reviewing microfilmed copies of the Globe between these two dates, it was determined that on the mornings following the seminars during these years, the Globe contained a total of 9567 lines of newsprint which reported seminar events. Seventeen hundred and twenty lines, or an average of thirty-two

lines per edition, appeared on the Globe's first page the morning after each of the seminars. In addition to the nine thousand plus lines of newsprint, a total of sixty-three photographs of the proceedings were published.

A cursory review of a number of Boston Herald's revealed approximately the same seminar coverage as in the Globe. The Boston Daily Record, a Hearst tabloid, appeared to contain news reports of the seminars of about half the length of those appearing in the Globe and Herald. It is assumed that the Boston Post, which ceased publication on October 4, 1956, contained about the same amount of coverage of the seminars before it folded as did the Globe and Herald.

The purpose of these assumptions is to obtain a rough measure of the impact of the seminars upon Greater Boston's newspaper-reading public. If we accept the assumptions concerning the number of lines of newsprint in papers other than the Globe as more valid than invalid, then *Appendix D* contains the approximate number of lines of seminar newsprint which was carried in the popular Boston press between the dates stated. During these years, an approximate total of twenty-six thousand lines of newsprint appeared in reference to the seminars, of which about twenty per-cent appeared

on page one.

A trend in press coverage of the seminars becomes evident, and is demonstrated in *Appendix D*. The twelve years of seminars between 1954 and 1965 were broken down into three four-year periods and the average amount of press coverage for each of these periods calculated. It is evident from the charting of these calculations that the impact of the seminars has declined gradually since the initial four-year period. This downward trend is evident in the number of lines of page-one coverage as well as total newsprint.

The two breaks in the trend are readily explainable. On February 28, 1961, Massachusetts Governor John Volpe spoke at the seminar and unveiled his initial public proposal for a state sales tax, and the manner in which he suggested its revenues be distributed. Until that time, only to *mention publicly* the idea of a sales tax in Massachusetts was to risk political suicide. The seminar of March 25, 1964 was devoted to a similarly controversial issue -- the creation of a state-run mass transit authority. with jurisdiction in nearly every community in eastern Massachusetts.

II. SUMMARY

It can be concluded from this newsprint analysis

that Boston College's seminars have since their inception been a valuable method of informing the public of the issue at stake in Boston's redevelopment. The seminars have declined in newsworthiness since their earliest days.

The need for continuous communication between the governing class and its cohorts and the common citizenry has never been more important than in recent years, especially in the large metropolitan areas. Books such as Levin's The Alienated Voter⁶⁰ and Riesman's The Lonely Crowd⁶¹ have described the plight of the individual in a mass society where decisions are made over his head, and where his views are not considered in the planning process.

Perhaps the service best performed by the B. C. seminars has been the remedy, at least partially, a situation described by Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure:

There appears to be a tenuous line of communication between the governors of our society and the governed. This situation does not square with the concepts of democracy we have been taught to revere. The line of communication between the leaders and the people needs to be broadened and strengthened -- and by more than a series of public relations and

⁶⁰Murray Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965).

propaganda campaigns -- else our concept of democracy is in danger of losing vitality in dealing with problems that affect all in common.⁶²

To assess precisely the effect of extensive press coverage of a particular topic is not in the realm of accomplishment. Communications theorist Marshall McLuhan has nonetheless endeavored to explain the power of the press as well as of other media:

If we pay careful attention to the fact that the press is a mosaic, participant kind of organization and a do-it-yourself kind of world, we can see why it is so necessary to democratic government. Throughout his study of the press in The Fourth Branch of Government, Douglas Cater is baffled by the fact that amidst the extreme fragmentation of government departments and branches, the press somehow manages to keep them in relation to each other and to the nation.⁶³

⁶¹David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and R. Denney, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

⁶²Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 1.

⁶³Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York: The New American Library, 1964), p. 190.

CHAPTER VIII

SEMINAR PUBLIC OPINION STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION

The primary method chosen to determine the effects of the Boston College seminars and their contribution to Boston's community development was the personal interview conducted with the assistance of a standardized questionnaire. Since there is no known precisely accurate method of determining the causes of social change, there was no attempt made to conduct a number of interviews sufficient to qualify as a random sample. Subsequently, there has been no attempt made to derive mathematically or statistically -- obtained conclusions from the information and data acquired as a result of the interview process.

Viewpoints were obtained from a total of sixty individuals. The persons interviewed were selected because the responsible positions which they occupy demand that they be people of high calibre, well informed, and as knowledgeable as anyone of the forces contributing to social, political, economic and physical change in the Greater Boston community. Forty-two personal interviews were conducted. During these

interviews, in order to minimize bias in the answers, no mention was made by the interviewer of his connection with either Boston College, the Boston Redevelopment Authority, or the city planning profession. The author identified himself only as a graduate student from the University of Rhode Island undertaking research on a Master's degree thesis, the subject of which was "kind of an analysis of events which have taken place in Boston over the past dozen or so years."

The other eighteen responses were elicited as a result of questionnaires mailed to sixty persons, informing them of the author's identity in the same manner as in the interviews, of the general nature and purpose of the study, and requesting that they fill out and return the questionnaire in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope. The response to the mailed questionnaire was thirty per-cent.

The questions used in the personal interviews and mailed questionnaires were identically worded. The final question is the only one which actually mentions the seminars, or asks for an assessment of their contribution. Because of the nature of this question, it was often not necessary to ask it at all during the interview because its answer had appeared as the response to an earlier question. Since this question

in a sense "begged the question" and could lead the interviewee into an answer he might not have given so readily, there was a problem as to how to include it in the mailed questionnaire, and at the same time deter the respondent from reading it until he had answered all the previous questions. For this reason it was decided to put the final question on a separate sheet, so folded that the question could not be seen, even if the page upon which it was printed were sighted. On the top sheet, or cover letter page of the questionnaire, as well as at the top of the first page of questions, it was requested of the respondent:

"Please do not read the final question before answering questions one through nine." There is no way of knowing how many of the returning mailed questionnaires failed to honor this request. Interviews were held with and questionnaires received from persons who can be placed in the following categories:

TABLE I.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS COMPLETED AND QUESTIONNAIRES
RETURNED

Category	Interviews	Questionnaires	Total Response
Business-Industry	6	4	10
Business Oriented Organizations	3	1	4
Government	9	2	11
Public Agency Directors	4	2	6
Mass Media	10	-	10
Civic Organizations	2	-	2
Academicians	4	2	6
Labor	2	-	2
Special Category	2	-	2
Unsigned	-	7	7
Total	42	18	60

If we assume the basic honesty of the majority of human beings, most of the questionnaires were properly filled out.

Maurice V. Dullea
69 Revere Street
Boston, Massachusetts

THESIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Please do not read question number nine until you have answered questions one through eight.

1. Do you feel, in general, that the Boston of 1967 is an improvement over the Boston of the early 1950's? or has the City gone downhill since then?
In answering this question, cite what you feel have been the improvements, as well as in what areas you feel that the City has "gone downhill."
2. Where the City has improved, what factor or factors can you cite as being responsible for this improvement?
3. Do you feel that communications between community leaders (business, government, labor, churches, institutions, etc.) has improved, remained the same, or deteriorated during this time? Between what groups has the most improvement, and deterioration, been evident?
4. If communications has improved overall, or in any particular area, can you say what you believe most accounts for the opening of these channels of communications?

5. Does any college or university in the Greater Boston area stand out in your mind as having taken an active part in civic affairs, community problem solving, and community development in the past dozen or so years?
6. If so, to what particular university programs or efforts are you referring?
7. Do you feel that these efforts have been successful? If so, in what way?
8. What do you feel was the prime or common catalyst, or common demoninator, if any, in the creation or promotion of the following?
 - A. the creation of the Mass. Port Authority
 - B. the extension of the MTA Highland Branch
 - C. the creation of the World Trade Center in Boston
 - D. the expediting of urban renewal programs in the Boston area
 - E. the enactment of home rule for cities and towns
 - F. the construction of off-street parking facilities in the perimeter of Boston
 - G. the establishment of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council

9. If you have not yet mentioned the B. C. Boston Citizen Seminars in any of your answers, or have mentioned them only fleetingly, summarize briefly what has been their role and accomplishments in promoting community development in Boston.

One category of returned mailed questionnaires is entitled "Unsigned," and includes seven questionnaires. These seven are questionnaires which were completed and returned, but which had had their cover letter page torn off by the respondent. It cannot be known whether this was done out of a desire to remain anonymous, or simply because these respondents looked upon this sheet as personal letters to them, and seeing no reason to return them, removed them from the four-page packages before returning the questionnaires. Perhaps the anonymity of some or all of these seven is due to an oversight on the author's part, for not having included a line on one of the three question sheets upon which the respondent was requested to sign his name. However, because the aim was for brevity, which the author felt would increase the number of responses, the objective was to minimize the amount of writing that was asked of the respondent.

II. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Because of the degree of reliance upon the personal interview in this study, the constructing of a carefully-worded questionnaire was of primary importance. To be meaningful, the questionnaire had to be

so worded that it could be used both in the personal interview means of obtaining information as well as the mailed-questionnaire method.

Before considering whether or not the seminars had contributed to some kind of resurgence within the city of Boston, it had to be determined if people really felt that the situation had in fact improved, that Boston really had experienced some degree of physical and economic regeneration.

The purpose of question number one was to determine if there had been some measure of improvement and significant new development, and if so, of what sort. Question two attempted to determine the cause of this improvement, without in any way suggesting that the Boston College seminars might have been involved.

It was never considered that it could be demonstrated that the seminars were the direct cause of physical and economic effects. Communications was seen as the key to accomplishing what Boston College hoped to achieve. Thus, if it had been found that communications had deteriorated throughout the city during the time period under consideration, there would seem to be little hope of finding the seminars contributory to any improvement. Question three, therefore, sought to determine if communications actually had become more widespread during this period

of time. Question four assumed that it had, and sought to discover the extent of these newly-opened communications channels.

The first attempt to draw the university in this aspect of the study is contained in question five, where it is asked what university stands out as being successfully involved in attempting to solve Boston's problems. Question six and seven are closely related to number five and often did not have to be asked, the information they sought having been offered in answer to question five.

Question number eight was included to discover if a statement made in a Boston College publicity booklet could be substantiated. The publication, Ten Years of Public Service, 1954-1964, published by the College of Business Administration, suggested that the seminars were in large part directly responsible for certain achievements in Boston's physical and economic renewal. It was sought to discover if even ~~those~~ most knowledgeable of Boston events would connect the one with the other in a cause-and-effect relationship.

Question number nine was asked during an interview only if the interviewee had made no reference to Boston College in answer to questions one through eight, or if he had mentioned it only fleetingly.

III. VIEWPOINTS

A consensus of opinion was obtained from representatives of business and industry. All interviewed believed that the city of Boston of today is a definite improvement over the same city of the early fifties. Most commonly cited reason for this was the Collins administration, the efforts of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, and the improved relations between business and government. All felt that communications has improved, especially between business and government. Reasons given for the improved communications nearly all concerned the Boston College seminars. In answer to the question "which university stands out. .?" seven out of the ten designated Boston College.

The effects of the seminars as explained by the business executives interviewed and polled by mail are closely related to the improvement of business - government relations. These persons felt that theirs was the group benefitting most from the improved relations. Question eight, which looks for a common denominator to a number of physical accomplishments, received no consistent answers. The effects of the seminars were seen as general rather than specific.

Among leaders of business-oriented organizations, there is general agreement that Boston has experienced

improvement in recent years. The greatest improvement is viewed as physical and economic: new business, property upgrading, improvement in the city's fiscal operations, a sounder tax base, and better municipal administration. The leading causes cited by this group for the improvements were urban renewal and strong executive leadership. All agreed that communications has improved within recent years, primarily between business and government. Various, somewhat related reasons were cited as causing the channels of communications to become opened. "Business self-reorganization" and "willingness of major businessmen to become involved" typify these responses.

In responding to questions five through seven, all representatives of business-oriented organizations were in agreement that Boston College has been the educational institution most deeply involved, and that its efforts have been the most successful. The bringing of representatives of many diverse elements into one place was considered the primary achievement of the seminars. The Bureau of Public Affairs was mentioned as having conducted valuable research on urban problems.

In summary, all of this group questioned agreed that the Boston College seminars have been the most influential university force in community development in Boston. Assessment of the success of the seminars,

with one exception, is more moderate than that of the business executive category. There is agreement that the seminars have been an important communications vehicle, primarily by enabling business and political leaders to meet and break down the long-established barriers between themselves. There was little relation of the seminars to the creation and promotion of the achievements listed in question eight. Mention was made by members of this group that the seminars have declined in influence, and are no longer attended by the same calibre of leaders as they were during their earlier years.

Opinion^{offered} by the elected office-holders polled regarding the superiority of today's Boston over the one of the nineteen fifties was more sharply divided than in the first two groups interviewed. Three of the thirteen indicated that there has been no change for the better in Boston within the time period stated. Eight agreed that there has been overall improvement, especially in the area of business activity and new construction. Although only two disagreed that communications is better today than in 1950, those who did^{see} improvement saw it mostly between business and government.

The selection of the most deeply-involved univer-

sity resulted in the mention of Boston College more than any other institution, although three of the respondents were dubious of the success or value of seminar efforts.

Despite the somewhat mixed reactions, there is in this category a considerable amount of agreement, some of it seemingly reluctantly given, that the seminars have been a valuable resource by providing a means of communications between factions, especially business and government. There is no evidence that a relationship exists between the seminars and the achievements referred to in question eight. The effects of the seminars are viewed as general ones.

Among the six local public agency executives polled, only one considered today's Boston to be inferior to the city in 1950. Communications was seen by four as having been definitely upgraded during this period. Two of these cited the seminars as the primary medium for the improved communications. The seminars were considered by all as the most prominent effort directed toward community development undertaken by a Boston area educational institution. The seminars were viewed as contributing to the awakening of business and social leaders to the problems of the city. The improvements brought about by the seminars were considered general ones.

Of the ten representatives of the mass media polled, seven were in agreement that Boston has shown overall improvement in the time period under consideration. There was unanimity concerning the new flows of dialogue among the community's leading figures. With two exceptions, Boston was designated as the university most successfully involved in community development efforts.

In summary, the seminars were assessed by members of the mass media as primarily a communications vehicle, which by bringing the city's leaders together, helped to create an atmosphere in which urban progress, mainly of a physical nature, could be made. The creation of the MAPC was attributed to the seminars and to the efforts of Fr. Joyce. Dr. Erwin Canham of the Christian Science Monitor stated that everything listed in question number eight was the result of collective bargaining between Boston leaders, initiated by the seminars.

Among the six academicians questioned, there was little disagreement that Boston has experienced overall improvement in recent years. Mayor Collins' political leadership was cited as the primary contributor to the city's regeneration. Also mentioned as having been partially responsible were federal funds, the efforts of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, increased co-

hesiveness within the business community, Chamber of Commerce leadership, and the "coming of age" of the Irish population. Communications was also viewed as better. Questions five, six and seven elicited general agreement from four out of the six academicians that Boston College has been the university most closely identified with community improvement and development efforts. The seminars' success in the revitalization of the city was achieved by their role as an intermediary between respected leaders whose cooperation and interaction was an absolute necessity.

Between the two labor representatives interview, there was agreement that the seminars were a valuable medium of communications. Mr. McCloskey felt that the most credit for what new development has taken place belongs to the city's business community and to the Boston College seminars.

Due to a paucity of city-wide civic organizations in Boston, only two viewpoints were obtained from persons in this category. Both are of the opinion that what recent improvement Boston has experienced has been mainly in the realm of physical and economic accomplishments. The thought was suggested that the seminars reached the same people all the time, and that these are not representative of Boston's population. Boston College did not stand out, nor

did any institution, as the university most concerned with urban matters.

Among those returning unsigned questionnaires, there was strong agreement that Boston as a city is in a better condition than it was ten to fifteen years ago, with strong improvement having been made in the area of new office construction. Channels of communications have been opened. Confidence in the Collins and Hynes administrations was considered accountable for the improvement in both areas. Boston College was credited with being the university providing the greatest leadership in urban problems in Boston.

III. SUMMARY

Only six of the sixty answers received, or ten per-cent, described Boston as a city which has experienced more decline since 1950 than it has resurgence. The reasons cited by those speaking favorably of the "New Boston" ranged greatly, the most common one concerning the cooperation of community leaders with Mayor Collins and with the leadership of the Boston Redevelopment Authority. Only a small fraction indicated that the communication between those who are considered to be community leaders has deteriorated. Twenty-five per-cent of the total felt that the Boston

College seminars were the primary cause of the improved communications. Another twenty-five per-cent indicated that improved communications was due to the awakened interest on the part of the city's business, civic, and political leaders. Diverse answers accounted for the other fifty per-cent of the responses to this question.

Forty-seven respondents, or seventy-eight per-cent of the total, considered Boston College the leader among the city's institutions of higher education in the area of contributing to the city's recent renaissance. Boston College was chosen primarily because its seminars have provided a forum whereupon the persons whose efforts and cooperation were required to renew the city were able to find a common meeting ground for the first time in the city's history. It was found that the statements in Ten Years of Public Service concerning the seminars' role as a catalyst to a number of specific achievements could not be substantiated. However, the seminars did initiate the dialogue which in turn facilitated a number of specific achievements in the Greater Boston area.

CHAPTER IX

NATIONAL ATTENTION

I. EXAMINATION OF THE SEMINARS BY THE NATIONAL PRESS

Inclusion must be made in this study of references to the seminars which have appeared in various nationally and internationally - distributed periodicals and other publications. At least six such periodical references can be found, five of which attest to the positive accomplishments of the seminars, and one, which although it makes no reference to Boston College by name, appears to be extremely critical, to the point of cynicism, of the seminars.

Writing in Harpers in April, 1960, Peter Fradstrup, at the time connected with the M.I.T. - Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, comments critically on Boston's civic action and attempts at problem-solving:

State Street (main thoroughfare in Boston's financial district) has produced no equivalent of Pittsburgh's millionaire, Richard Mellon, Detroit's auto executives, St. Louis' public-spirited bankers, or New York's Rockefeller's to goad the old Protestant Republican business community into public action. Instead, Boston's businessmen gather periodically at "seminars" and luncheons to call, as Filene's chairman of the board recently did, for "Full-time citizens." These gatherings are essentially prayer-meetings which produce little

except an ego-warming splash of publicity in the next day's papers.⁶⁴

National Geographic's writers, commenting on Boston in a feature story descriptive of Massachusetts describe the situation quite differently:

Years ago Mayor Fitzgerald declared, "What this city needs is a lunch club where the blue-bloods will eat with the rest of us." Boston has these meetings now - not at a luncheon club, but instead at Boston College, at civic conferences called the Citizen Seminars. Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor and one of the most influential men in Massachusetts remarked upon how the seminars had helped change the climate in Boston: "With the seminars, the college began to fulfill its responsibility to the community, and the sessions have become a place for the professional, business, and academic worlds to meet with the politicians."⁶⁵

An article in Newsweek in 1965 described the work of Charles Coolidge and Mayor John Collins in rebuilding Boston, and further stated:

Coolidge, an aristocratic and amiable seventy, helped Collins build a bridge over the sea of distrust that separated the Brahmins from what former Mayor James Michael Curley used to refer to as "that down-trodden majority, the Boston Irish." As Coolidge recalled last week, the first planks in the bridge were laid during a series of Boston College seminars designed "to get the people who 'owned' Boston on speaking terms with the people who ran Boston."⁶⁶

⁶⁴Peter Braestrup, Harpers, October, 1960, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁵National Geographic, December, 1960, p. 805.

⁶⁶Newsweek, April 26, 1965, p. 78.

Time magazine's article in the issue of April 26, 1963, in recognition of Boston College's centennial, commented positively in reference to that university's recently-broadened scope:

What has happened is clear from B.C.'s best broadening to date -- the "B.C. seminars," which in recent years have all but razed Boston's last Irish - Yankee barriers. B.C. set out to right Boston's wrongs by organizing campus huddles between citizens with names like Adams, Lowell, Kelly, Hurley and Pappas. Bankers, dockers, priests, and doctors have since overhauled Boston with everything from a new port authority to a better transit system. Says Yalman Edward J. Logue, head of the Boston Redevelopment Authority: "What B.C. does is to knit together what hatred and contempt had kept apart. In the whole country, this is the only Catholic college that has tried to be responsible for the entire community. And out of this B.C. has gotten something -- a status in this town."⁶⁷

A U. S. News and World Report news item concurs with the previous three:

To many observers, Boston seemed immobilized by the deadlock that existed between the banking and business aristocracy and the Irish-American politicians. And for anyone not born in Boston, there was little room at the top. Today, new men and new ideas are making big changes in the outlook here. One blue-blooded Bostonian defined the changes this way: "A few years ago, the feeling here was one of pessimism. Boston seemed to be proceeding calmly to its own strangulation. Now people are working together and getting us off dead center . . ." The drive to rebuild the city is credited in part to seminars held at Boston College in the early 1950's which brought together -- many for the first time -- the people who owned Boston and the people who ran it in an attempt to thrash out the city's problems.⁶⁸

As early as 1957 a national publication took note of the first changes evident in the city's atmosphere. A Fortune article in June of that year was entitled "Is Boston Beginning to Boil?" and intimated that some coordinated action long overdue in Boston was beginning to take place.⁶⁹

Edward Banfield's book, Big City Politics examines the political situations in a number of major U.S. cities, including Boston. Banfield traces the political history of Boston, emphasizing the transition from Yankee to Irish rule around the turn of the century, at the same time noting that there are indications that tensions were beginning to ease:

Long-standing distrust between the Yankee-Protestant-Republicans and the Irish-Catholic-Democrats -- and therefore between businessmen and politicians -- has prevented much collaboration. In recent years, however, the ice has begun to melt.⁷⁰

II. SUMMARY

The testimony cited, with one obvious exception, highlights the outstanding contribution of the seminars

⁶⁷Time, April 26, 1963, p. 48

⁶⁸U.S. News and World Report, September 21, 1964, p. ?.

⁶⁹"Is Boston Beginning to Boil," Fortune, June, 1957, p. 286.

⁷⁰Edward Banfield, Big City Politics (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 46-47.

to the metropolitan community -- that is, the role of the seminars as a communications vehicle, a means of making redevelopment and new development possible by freeing the only persons able to accomplish that development to act in a manner of mutual cooperation.

CHAPTER X

URBAN UNIVERSITY THEORY AND MODEL

I. MODEL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter deals with the criteria established by a number of theorists concerning that which makes the urban university an agent of physical and social urban development. By examining these criteria a model can be constructed and the Boston College seminars compared to it.

II. DEEP CONCERN

One of the more respected scholars on the urban university is J. Martin Klotsche, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Klotsche contends that the university located in the city must have a deep concern about the urban process, and use its resources to influence the character of urban life.⁷¹ It should become a central task of the urban university to understand the city, to analyze its problems, to research and comment about them, to commit university resources and to enlist those of the community so that the quality of urban life can be improved.⁷²

⁷¹J. Martin Klotsche, The Urban University, p. 22.

⁷²Ibid., p. 29.

III. COMMON MEETING GROUND

According to Klotsche, the university can provide a common meeting ground for the divergent elements of the community and assist in reaching an objective understanding of its problems, while at the same time providing the basis for the development of theory and policy for general application elsewhere.⁷³

IV. NO ISSUES UNPROFITED

No community issue, whether it results from social strain, racial tension, religious conflict, nationality origin, or labor-management disagreement, should be beyond the range of the university. A university can discharge this responsibility as no other institution can.⁷⁴

V. EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

Klotsche contends that the urban university has a special mission because it is in a position to do things other institutions cannot.⁷⁵ He cites the university's capabilities as an educator, not only of its students, but of the public in general.

⁷³Ibid., p. 30.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 31.

VI. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

In a democracy, intelligent and informed citizen participation is crucial.⁷⁶ The university should not isolate itself, but should play a decisive role in advancing democracy. Klotsche states that the urban university can become the single most important force in the recreation of our cities.⁷⁷

VII. RESPONSIBILITY: AWARENESS OF POTENTIAL

Henry Steele Commager has offered a theory on the responsibility of today's urban university. He contends that if our universities are to enjoy the advantages of their urban position, if they are to be to American society what the great urban universities of Europe have been to their societies, they must assume responsibility for the development of urban and regional civilization. What they need is an awareness of their opportunities and potentialities, a philosophy.⁷⁸

VIII. PROPOGATION OF IDEAS: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Writing in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, Sidney Harris charges that the university itself seems afraid

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 35.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁸Henry Steele Commager, "Is Ivy League crazy?" Saturday Review, September 17, 1960, p. 89.

of propogating ideas, of challenging accepted beliefs, of involving itself in the actual life of the larger community. He concludes that if universities cannot intellectualize their neighborhoods, at least to some degree, then their influence on the social current is negligible, and their pretense to significance is absurd.⁷⁹

IX. INNOVATION AND EXPERIMENTATION

James Coke, speaking at the Wingspread Conference in Racine, Wisconsin in 1963, commented on the urban university's capability of introducing the "innovative function" into the urban field.⁸⁰ He explained how experimentation has been conspicuously absent from many metropolitan communities, as it is often a politically inexpedient or dangerous role to play, and one which the politician and the civic leader are reluctant to assume. As a consequence, urban systems have been slow to adapt to modern requirements. Yet, Coke continued, cities are desperately in need of new ideas, and universities, through research and experimentation, are in a strong position to provide them. Ideas can be fed into the system that will in time

⁷⁹ Sidney Harris, Pittsburgh Post Gazette, November 6, 1963.

⁸⁰ Klotsche, op. cit., p. 32.

result in the modification and adjustment of the system to its environment.⁸¹

X. LEADERSHIP

A university, Joseph Hudnut states, should not be built at the edge of a city; it should preside at the center, affirming by that relationship its leadership and serviceability. It should be conscious of its high place in the scheme of the city; conscious not merely of its relation to street and traffic, to the homes of faculty and students, to coordinated institutions and facilities, but more urgently conscious of those less immediate and less visible factors of city life, unobserved by the practical-minded, which create its usefulness as a civic force.⁸²

VI. TALENT AVAILABILITY: SEMINARS, CONFERENCES

In his January 12, 1965 message on education to Congress, President Johnson suggested that the time had come for the university to face the problems of the city as it once faced the problems of the farm.

"The role of the university must extend far beyond the ordinary extension-type operation. Its research findings and talents must be made available to the community. Faculty must be called upon for consulting activities.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Joseph Hudnut, Architecture and the Spirit of Man (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 262.

Pilot projects, seminars, conferences, television programs, and task forces drawing on many departments of the university -- all should be brought into play".⁸³

XII. POWER TO PLAN

Speaking to members of the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, Professor Morris L. Lambie of Tufts University analyzed the potential role of the urban university this way:

"The degree of emphasis upon matters of planning and public administration which may be pursued by any institution -- whether academic or non-academic -- will be determined in terms of its status whether (a) the institution, per se, has power not only to diagnose and plan in matters of public policy but also to assume a concurrent power to act upon and to propogate its own recommendations and its own initiative: or (b), whether the institution has power to plan yet without power or incentive to act and to propogate. Obviously, a university is in the latter category: it is not endowed with power to act; nor does it seek this power; and therein lies its strength."⁸⁴

XIII. GATHERING INFORMATION

Lambie further concluded:

"Thus a university seeks only to offer its resources in order to serve other entities -- citizens and officials, students or communities of any kind. Greatest satisfactions come from contact with autonomous local action civic agencies and from official corporate

⁸³Remarks of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, Congressional Record, June 12, 1965.

⁸⁴Remarks of Professor Morris Lambie to members of

municipal entities which serve particular local areas in their home grounds. In this role, and within these contacts, a university in a very real sense remains the servant of the public and of civic agencies; and in this capacity it performs best by gathering and collating information in terms of comparative experience which may be helpful to local action agencies."⁸⁵

XIV. INVOLVEMENT IN CRITICAL ISSUES

In the Saturday Review, L. L. Golden describes the emerging role of the urban university:

"Much as the universities would like to go on their way, calm islands in seas of turmoil, they cannot. Whether they wish it or not, they are deeply involved in the enormous issues with which the cities must deal if they are to avoid being overwhelmed."⁸⁶

XV. EXPERIMENTATION AND LEADERSHIP

Golden further cites the theories of the Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S. J., president of St. Louis University, an institution which, according to Golden's criteria, has been successfully involved in community development. According to Fr. Reinert:

"Urban universities must become the intellectual citadels, the 'experiment stations' of

the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, December 28, 1960.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶L. L. Golden, Saturday Review, reprinted in Boston, May, 1967, p. 54.

this urban age, and provide new and better ways of meeting urban life and its challenges -- just as the land-grant movement provided these services to an agricultural America of another time. Despite their contributions to science and technology -- to national defense--and despite the larger and larger role they are coming to play in American higher education, our urban universities will not have truly come of age until they accept full responsibility for leadership in a renewed and revitalized urban America."⁸⁷

XVI. THE MODEL

The above thinkers have expressed what they believe to be the criteria for the urban university's role in influencing community development. These criteria can be extracted from their contexts and grouped as follows:

- I. Concern and understanding
 - A. Be concerned about the urban process.
 - B. Understand the city.
 - C. Be aware of the university's potential role.
- II. Innovation
 - A. Propagate new ideas.
 - B. Stimulate experimentation.
 - C. Provide innovation and experimentation.
- III. Involvement
 - A. Use university resources to influence urban life.
 - B. Avoid no pertinent issues.
 - C. Involve the university in community life.
 - D. Make talents available to the community.
 - E. Pursue deep involvement in critical issues.
- IV. Responsibility and leadership.
 - A. Assume responsibility for the development of the urban civilization.
 - B. Provide leadership.
 - C. Accept full responsibility for leadership.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

- V. Education and involvement of the community.
 - A. Comment about the city.
 - B. Enlist community resources.
 - C. Assist in reaching an objective understanding of urban problems.
 - D. Educate the public.
 - E. Stimulate informed citizen participation.
 - F. Gather and collate information.

- VI. Meeting and planning
 - A. Provide a common meeting ground.
 - B. Sponsor seminars, conferences.
 - C. Utilize the power to plan.

XVII. MODEL TESTING AND CONCLUSIONS

The Boston College seminars satisfy Klotsche's requirement of a deep concern for the city, for the provision of a common meeting ground for diverse community elements, for the ability to deal with a plethora of issues, and for the education of the public in problem areas. As an institution, Boston College is not simply a university, which Klotsche says is in a better position to deal with wide-ranging matters than other institutions. It also represents the Church, which in Catholic Boston plays a major role in community affairs.

Boston College is definitely aware of its potential role. Fr. Maxwell's address at the initial seminar is evidence of this. Harris stated that the urban university must be capable of propagating new ideas, and possess a willingness to become involved in the larger community. There is no dispute concerning the many and diverse ideas aired at the seminars, or of the university's willingness to become and remain involved.

The provision of new ideas to the community at large was also cited by Coke. Golden, Reinert, and Hudnut sought leadership from the urban university, and it appears that this standard has been met by the efforts of Fr. Joyce and his staff, and by the persons speaking at seminars proposing solutions to Boston's problems. President Johnson called ^{for} seminars, conferences, and urban task forces to provide solutions for the problems of the city. These criteria have been amply met, the last by the Seminar Planning Committee. Boston College has met Lambie's criteria by offering its resources to serve the community, by being as a servant to public servants, and by continually gathering and collating information, as well as disseminating it to the community at large.

According to the criteria reviewed, Boston College is a university which is effectively involved as an agent to community development.

CHAPTER XI

MUTUAL COOPERATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

In order for a community to develop so as to promote the economic and social welfare of the greatest number of its citizens, and to be successfully redeveloped when necessary, it must have the cooperation and interaction of all its groups and factions. This chapter analyzes some of the pitfall of cities which operate on a "one-party" system, and those in which there is not an equal contribution toward urban development by all the citizens.

II. RICHARD LEE

The Honorable Richard Lee, Mayor of New Haven, is one whose lengthy and deep involvement in the processes of urban renewal and redevelopment should make him as knowledgeable as anyone of the necessity of multi-interest effort:

A new sense of community responsibility and unity develops rapidly when labor and management officials, politicians and teachers and store owners, bankers and college administrators all get together to promote a program. The program goes forward, but so does to the sense of brotherhood and of common responsibility, of the knowledge that "no man is an island," which is essential to the

development of community life in any city.⁸⁸

III. FOLLENS AND SCHMANDT

In The Metropolis, John Hollens and Henry J.

Schmandt support Lee's theory:

Numerous private organizations and individuals. . . participate in governing the metropolis. Business and industrial interests, labor unions, political parties, private welfare agencies, civic associations, metropolitan and sub-urban newspapers, and television and radio stations. . . all have important stakes in keeping the metropolitan community operating as a going concern. They possess varying degrees of power and influence and they espouse a broad range of objectives. In the process they interact and negotiate with one another and with the elected politicians and professional governmental bureaucrats who make the formal decisions on public policies. A system of public and private relationships that furnishes a vehicle for decision-making. . . is a basic necessity for averting crises and for parcelling out some of the rewards of metropolitan life.⁸⁹

IV. DAHL

The need for broad-based participation in city growth and life is further cited by Dahl in describing Lee's coalition, The Citizens Action Commission (CAC):

The importance of the CAC is assuring acceptability for the redevelopment program can hardly be overestimated. The mere fact

⁸⁸Remarks of Honorable Richard C. Lee at Terini Executive Dinner sponsored by the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, December 19, 1960.

that the CAC existed and regularly endorsed the proposals of the city administration made the program appear nonpartisan, virtually nullified the effectiveness of partisan attacks, presented to the public an appearance of power and responsibility diffused among a representative group of community notables, and inherited criticisms of even the most daring and ambitious parts of the program as "unrealistic" or "unbusinesslike." . . . The presence of leading bankers, industrialists, and businessmen -- almost all of whom were Republicans -- insured that any project they agreed on would not be attacked by conservatives; the presence of two of the states most distinguished labor leaders and the participation of well-known liberal Democrats like the Dean of the Yale Law School meant that any proposal they accepted was not likely to be suspect by liberals.⁸⁰

V. GREER

The effect of Boston's rule, by Irish and for Irish, was an obstacle which had to be overcome. Such one-party government has to be viewed as a deterrent to development, and strong positive forces were required to offset it. Scott Greer cites the dangers of such undiluted majority rule:

One-party government approaches very closely the conditions of non-partisan government. The weakening of the party organization's hold on incumbents softens the impact of those who wish to translate wealth and social power garnered in other fields into pressure on the policy of the city. The incumbents are freed from many pressures; however, it is a "freedom from," rather than a freedom to accomplish new and radical enterprises.⁹¹

⁸⁰ John C. Hollens and Henry J. Schwardt, The Metro-
polis (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 181-182.

VI. SUMMARY

The theories cited above provide strong support to the author's thesis that the service provided to the city of Boston by the seminars was one of vital necessity. Had the various interest and power groups of all persuasions not agreed to come together to discuss and propose, it is doubtful that much of the new development which has taken place so recently in Boston would ever have come about.

⁹⁰Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 133.

⁹¹Scott Greer, "The Machine of the Incumbents: The Governance of the Central City," Metropolitan Politics, Michael N. Danielson, editor (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 85.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

I. CONCLUSIONS

As a result of this study, the following conclusions have been derived:

1. As a result of Irish domination of city politics up to 1950, Boston's progress in many areas had stopped, deterioration had set in, and further decline was imminent.
2. The Boston College seminars were the first means of any consequence which attempted to reconcile the city's two warring factions, the Yankee businessmen and Irish politicians.
3. The seminars served primarily as a communications or "group dynamics" vehicle, which initiated the uniting of the city's factions.
4. Once physically together in the same room, and before a dignified audience and city press personnel, representatives of government, business, labor, the churches, etc., began to realize that they shared common problems and a common fate.
5. Once this realization had been made, and some consensus reached in the solution to municipal problems, the city of Boston began to benefit

from these common efforts at the city's regeneration.

6. The populace of the city and the metropolitan area, informed of what the most critical problems were, and perceiving some efforts in mutual cooperation toward their solution, was less likely to experience alienation and to tolerate the politics of obstruction.
7. A significant segment of the city's "power structure" was actively involved in the seminars, indicating that they recognized the worth of these meetings.
8. Comment on a nation-wide basis concerning the role of the seminars in Boston's physical, economic, and political renewal attests to Boston College's success in attaining its objective.
9. The meeting by the seminars of the criteria of various respected theorists on the role of the urban universe indicates that Boston College has been successful in contributing to orderly community development.
10. The mutual cooperation as promoted by the seminars is a necessity if a city is to grow and develop so as to most benefit its citizens.

11. The personal interviews conducted and questionnaires returned provide sound evidence that the Boston College seminars have acted as a catalyst to Boston's urban development.
12. That the recommendations and proposals which were made at the seminars "just happened" to precede the city's physical redevelopment is highly unlikely.
13. It is also unlikely that a single human being, Mayor John F. Collins, regarded by many as the most dynamic force in Boston's renewal, would singly-handedly have been able to achieve the reconciliation of Brahmin and Irish as did Boston College, which exists in Boston not only as the most "popular " university, but which represents the influential Catholic Church as well.
14. The seminars were found to have been more influential in their earlier years than of late. Views relating to this finding were offered by a number of persons during the personal interviews, even though no one question sought this information. Lengthy discussions with three other knowledgeable persons also reflected this finding. These were Robert J. M. O'Hare, Director of the Boston College Bureau

of Public Affairs; Rev. John Collins, S. J., one of the seminar founders; and Robert G. Davidson, former research associate at the Bureau of Public Affairs, and presently Director of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council. Mr. Davidson introduced the "political vacuum" concept to illustrate this point. When strong political leadership was lacking in Boston, as it was during the Hynes administration, and the city was in grave danger of increasing its rate of physical and economic deterioration, there existed a leadership "vacuum" which Boston College, through the conduct of its seminars, was able to fill effectively. Once strong political leadership was present in the person of Mayor Collins, the need for the seminars declined. Once the critical stage had been passed and the city's economic future made considerably brighter, the need for the highest strata of community leaders to be as closely involved with the seminars as they had been in 1954 began to decrease. In addition, the more recent problems of Boston as discussed at the seminars have been of a more sensitive nature, such as racial issues and the schools, and are not nearly as subject to solution by simple joint action as

were Boston's earlier woes.

14. From a planning standpoint, some of the seminar-promoted urban redevelopment has not been of the highest standard, although the West End clearance project is the only undertaking which has severely violated sound planning and sociological principles.

II. SUMMARY

It is unlikely that just any university in any city could expect to be successful in filling a void as did the seminars. It was more a case of Boston College being the right means in the right place at the right time. That university was originally a commuter college for young Boston Irishmen, and today, while considerably less provincial, still retains much of this image. Cardinal Cushing, Boston's extremely popular and respected archbishop, attended Boston College, and can often be depended upon to confirm the intent of proposals made at the seminars. Fr. W. Seavey Joyce lobbied long and intensely for the creation of a metropolitan planning agency, but it might well have been Cardinal Cushing's backing which convinced a sufficient number of members of the Massachusetts legislature to authorize the MARC's creation. The fact that the seminars were

111.

conducted by the university's College of Business Administration may have helped to attract the Yankee businessmen, who could presume that the seminars would thus be run on a businesslike note of "no-nonsense" efficiency, aimed at "sensible" rather than "do-gooder" ends.

III. PROPOSALS

One proposal is offered. Boston College in the future ought to consider the modification of the means by which its Bureau of Public Affairs attempts to serve the community. The seminars have been successful in that they inspired business confidence and contributed greatly to the advancement of physical development and redevelopment and metropolitan planning. However, their ability to arrive at solutions to the more complex and sophisticated urban problems of the present day is in doubt. What appears to be needed now is less talk from the rostrum and more pure, university -- conducted research. To accomplish this, it would be necessary to expand the Bureau of Public Affairs, possibly tying it in with the university's new Human Sciences Institute. Perhaps in this way Boston College would assure that it would continue to provide the same high quality in urban leadership which it began in October, 1954.

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APPENDIX A.

* OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS OF SEMINAR SPEAKERS

Academic Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	T
1954-55	3	6	1	1	1		1	2	1	1	1		1			1						20
1955-56	11	2	1		1	1		2	5	1	1	1	1	1	2	1						31
1956-57	1	4	1	1	1	1		5								1						15
1957-58	1		3					4		2			7			4						21
1959	6	4					1	1	1			1	1		1	1	1					19
1959-60	3	2	2	1	1	2				7	1	2										22
1960-61	5						1			1										1		7
1961-62	9	4	1			1		1	2	2	1	1	1		1			1	1			26
1962-63	3	12	1		1	2		1	1	1	2		3	4		4	2					37
1963-64		2	3	1	1			1			1		2	1			1		1	1	1	16
1964-65	7	5			1		2	2		1	1	1		2		1						23
ALL YEARS	50	41	13	4	7	8	5	19	10	16	8	6	15	8	4	13	4	1	2	2	1	231

* Occupational Codes:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Politically elected | 11. Civic organizations |
| 2. Politically appointed | 12. Attorneys |
| 3. Manufacturing | 13. Academicians |
| 4. Retail | 14. Clergy |
| 5. Real Estate | 15. Labor |
| 6. Other business | 16. Outside authorities/Consultants |
| 7. Utilities | 17. Public service organizations |
| 8. Finance/Insurance | 18. Hospital administration |
| 9. Mass media | 19. Foundations |
| 10. Business organizations | 20. Federal Government |
| | 21. Science |

APPENDIX B

TITLES OF SEMINARS

1954-55

1. "The Structure and Organization of the Boston City Government"
2. "Possibilities for the Economic Development and Redevelopment of Boston"
3. "The Relation of Boston to the Metropolitan Area and Commonwealth of Massachusetts"

1955-56

1. "The Legislature Looks at the Problems of Boston and the Metropolitan Community"
2. "More Money for our Cities: A State or Local Responsibility?"
3. "Starring the Editors"
4. "Are We Doing a Good Job of Selling Boston?"
5. "Massachusetts Port Authority"
6. "The City Council Looks at Some of the Major Problems of Boston"

1956-57

1. "Preparing our Community for the Future"
2. "An Evaluation of the Recommendations Made at the Seminars"
3. "The Relationship of Boston and the Metropolitan Area to the Commonwealth"
4. "Major Transportation Projects Proposed, Planned, or Executed in the Boston Metropolitan Area"

1957-58

1. "A Blueprint for Action"
2. "The Future of Downtown"
3. "The Greater Boston Economic Study"
4. "The Challenge of a New Era"
5. "Transportation and Boston's Future"

1959

1. "Working Together for Community Progress"
2. "Metropolitan Cooperation and Regional Planning"
3. "The Future of Metropolitan Transportation"

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

1959-60

1. "Business Takes a Cold, Hard Look at Boston's Problems"
2. "Boston Looks Ahead"
3. "Responsibility in Public Life"
4. "A Dynamic Approach to Urban Redevelopment"

1960-61

1. "A Review of the Practices and Procedures of the Massachusetts Legislature"
2. "The Relationship of the Commonwealth to Boston and the Metropolitan Community"

1961-62

1. "The Changing Face of Boston"
2. "A Code of Ethics in Public Life"
3. "A Look at the Future of Boston"
4. "Boston - World Port of the Future"
5. "Municipal Problems - Including the Relationship Between Local Communities and the Massachusetts Legislature"
6. "The Arts in the New Boston Picture"

1962-63

1. "North Terminal Area and the Inner Belt Highway"
2. "The Role of Business, Trade, and Professional Associations in Community Affairs"
3. "Police Problems in Boston"
4. "Design in Boston's Decade of Development"
5. "Neglected Assets"
6. "Modern Tax Policies For Massachusetts"
7. "The Role of Religious Groups in the Changing Urban Community"
8. "The Washington Park Story - Planning With People: Progress and Prospects"
9. "The Schools and the Economy in Massachusetts"

1963-64

1. "A Look at the Record and Unfinished Business"
2. "NASA, The Space Age, and the Boston Community"
3. "Youth - Education - Employment"
4. "Mass Transportation - A Program of Action"

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

1965-66

1. "The Back Bay - Past, Present, and Future"
2. "Housing in Boston and the Metropolitan Area"
3. "A Bold Approach to the Problems of Massachusetts"
4. "Fiscal Responsibility in Massachusetts"
5. "The Impact of the National Space Program on the Economy"
6. "Unfinished Public Business"

PROJECT:

Government Center

SIZE:

60 Acres

STATUS:

Acquisition complete; Construction underway

FEDERAL GRANT:

\$28,206,731*

A. State Share:

\$ 6,375,554

B. City Share:

\$ 6,403,035

PRIVATE INVESTMENT:

\$100,000,000

(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. New \$25,000,000 City Hall
2. \$25,000,000 Federal Office Building
3. \$34,000,000 State Service Center
4. Eight commercial buildings
5. 2000-car \$7,000,000 Parking Garage
6. MBTA relocation and improvements
7. New connecting ramps to Central Artery
8. Traffic and circulation improvements
9. Reorganization of the utility system
10. Central pedestrian plaza

*The City's share will be offset by a Federal credit of \$7,000,000 received for the construction of the Government Center parking garage.

TAX IMPACT:

Tax assessments for the Government Center after redevelopment is completed will increase by more than \$500,000 per year over the assessments prior to inception of the project.

SUMMARY

The major goals of the project were to clear a decadent and blighted area in the heart of the City and convert it to a major center of governmental and private activity. In doing so, the City has aimed to develop an area of highest design and structural quality, marked by buildings of architectural excellence which are harmonious with Boston building traditions, plazas and other appropriately landscaped open spaces, and easy accessibility by auto and mass transit, with allocations of space to intensive business uses. Increasing the local tax base and revitalizing the downtown core were important considerations in the planning of the Project.

PROJECT: West End
SIZE: 41 Acres
STATUS: Execution
FEDERAL GRANT: \$11,297,438
 A. State Share: \$ 2,736,485
 B. City Share: \$ 2,736,485
PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$70,000,000
 (estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. 2400 dwelling units
2. Shopping Center
3. Nursery School
4. \$300,000 Library
5. \$2,500,000 Business School
6. Parking facilities
7. \$1,200,000 Home for Elderly Priests
8. Research Center
9. \$3,500,000 Shriner's Hospital

TAX IMPACT: Tax assessments for this area will be approximately double on completion of the project.

SUMMARY

The West End project is situated between the Government Center urban renewal project to the east and Charles River to the west, and is adjacent to the Massachusetts General Hospital. Four high-rise apartment buildings have been tenanted and construction is well underway on two additional apartment structures.

Charles River Park represents an effort by the City and private redevelopers to make it possible for those people who have the means and desire to do so to live close to the downtown area. The apartments are convenient to the new Government Center, to the Financial District, to retail outlets, to historical points of interest, to restaurants and entertainment, and to the Waterfront.

PROJECT: New York Streets

SIZE: 22.3 Acres

STATUS: Completed.

FEDERAL GRANT: \$ 3,184,800

A. State Share: \$ 796,200

B. City Share: \$ 796,200

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$15,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. Industrial development
 - a. Herald-Traveler Corporation
 - b. Graybar Electric
 - c. First National Bank
 - d. Westinghouse Electric Supply Corporation
 - e. Star Sales and Distributors
 - f. Wolfe Tire Company
 - g. Cooper Electric Company
 - h. Dario Ford Automobile and Parts Agency
 - i. Gilchrist Tire Center

TAX IMPACT: Tax assessment nearly double that before the area was redeveloped.

SUMMARY

The first urban renewal project in Boston was the New York Streets project for which planning was initiated in 1952. This was a total clearance project. It replaced some of the worst housing found in Boston with an in-town industrial park providing land on which private industries could build efficient, modern structures. The project has now been completed with all parcels either leased or sold for industrial re-use.

PROJECT:

South Cove

SIZE:

96.5 Acres

STATUS:

Approval has been given to the Plan by the BRA, the City Council and the State. Final Federal approval is pending.

FEDERAL GRANT:

\$10,327,761

(estimated)

A. State Share:

\$ 2,495,888

(estimated)

B. City Share:

\$ 2,509,519

(estimated)

PRIVATE INVESTMENT:

\$80,000,000

(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. Expansion and consolidation of Tufts-New England Medical Center facilities.
2. Rehabilitation of Chinatown.
3. 600-700 new housing units.
4. New elementary school, fire station, and public park.
5. Parking and traffic improvements.
6. Conservation and protection of Bay Village.
7. Expansion of Don Bosco School.
8. Several acres of new commercial use.

TAX IMPACT: The tax assessment for this project area will increase by \$250,000 to \$500,000 a year.

SUMMARY

The South Cove area includes within its boundaries the Chinese community, Bay Village, Don Bosco High School, Tufts-New England Medical Center, Morgan Memorial, and a large part of the theatre district. The purpose of the urban renewal plan is to preserve and strengthen the residential quality of the Chinese community and Bay Village; to provide for the controlled expansion of the Tufts-N.E. Medical Center; and to accommodate the future needs of the other major uses. Development will include the construction of new housing, a new school, a new fire station, other community facilities, public open space, parking garages, other commercial uses, street improvements, new MBTA facilities, and expansion of the Tufts-N.E. Medical Center.

Late in December, 1962, the Boston Redevelopment Authority approved a development plan for the Tufts-N.E. Medical Center. This plan outlines the institution's future expansion, an important element of the city's future in order to capitalize on approximately \$2.5 million in 'Section 112' credits for the Tufts-N.E. Medical Center land acquisition expenditures. This credit is but the first of an estimated \$30,000,000 of institutional expenditures which should be available to the city for use in paying its share of renewal costs during the coming decade.

PROJECT: Central Business District

SIZE: 245.5 Acres

STATUS: Survey and Planning

FEDERAL GRANT: \$19,460,880

A. State Share: \$ 4,602,720

B. City Share: \$ 4,602,720

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$200,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. Foster the economic and industrial strength of Boston.
2. Rehabilitate commercial space with emphasis on improving retail trade.
3. Street improvements.
4. Parking facilities.
5. Traffic and circulation improvements.
6. M.B.T.A. improvements.
7. Utility systems reconditioning.

TAX IMPACT: The economic base of the CBD will be substantially strengthened as a result of the revitalization process.

SUMMARY

The Central Business District is one of Boston's great assets--well located, well served by rapid transit, rich in historical sites. Although retail trade has fallen considerably in downtown areas throughout the country, Boston has suffered a very small decline during the past decade, demonstrating the basic strength of this vital area.

Since August of 1962, when Mayor Collins announced the multi-million dollar program for the revitalization of the Central Business District, a close working relationship has developed between the City, the Committee for the Central Business District, and the Boston Redevelopment Authority in preparing a plan for this area.

The goal of the CBD renewal program is to rehabilitate commercial space, with limited clearance and an emphasis upon rehabilitation improving traffic circulation and retail trade, providing adequate parking and encouraging higher occupancy.

PROJECT: Charlestown

SIZE: 520 Acres

STATUS: Approval has been given to the Plan by BRA, State, and City Council. Final Federal approval pending

FEDERAL GRANT: \$26,947,591
(estimated)

A. State Share: \$ 5,858,599

B. City Share: \$ 5,960,480

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$25,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. 90% residential rehabilitation
2. MBTA relocation
3. New peripheral highway systems
4. Opportunity for over 1400 new residential units, including homes and apartments
5. New commercial developments: Major shopping center and local shopping areas
6. Major new recreation area
7. Housing for the elderly
8. New schools
9. New fire stations
10. Industrial development sites
11. New Massachusetts Bay Community College

TAX IMPACT: The assessed valuation of the project area following renewal is expected to be increased.

SUMMARY

The preservation of 90 percent of Charlestown's existing homes is the key feature of the urban renewal plan for this square mile area. Urban renewal will also provide for new housing in the low and moderate income range, and will strengthen the residential community through the construction of new elementary schools, a field house and community center, a community high school athletic field, new fire stations, a library addition, and major improvements to street, water and sewer system. The existing 'elevated' MBTA line through Main Street will be eliminated. Adjacent to the relocated rapid transit line will be built a community college where higher education will be readily accessible to every Charlestown youngster.

PROJECT: South End

SIZE: 616 Acres

STATUS: Survey and Planning - Early land acquisition.

FEDERAL GRANT: \$ 38,954,600
(estimated)

A. State Share: \$ 8,785,733
(estimated)

B. City Share: \$ 8,963,967
(estimated)

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$100,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. Rehabilitation of over 3000 structures.
2. Five new schools and playgrounds.
3. New library.
4. New wholesale Flower Market.
5. Medical Center Development (City Hospital and Boston University Medical Center facilities).
6. Approximately 3600 new private housing units including Castle Square.
7. Year round indoor-outdoor swimming pool.
8. Community Center development.
9. Traffic and circulation improvements.
10. Industrial development sites.

TAX IMPACT: Total tax assessment in the South End will be increased by over 50%.

SUMMARY

The South End Project is designed to rehabilitate one of Boston's most central neighborhoods; to provide incentive for new investment and improvement by providing major community facilities; to recognize the unique opportunity of commercial and industrial development planned in accordance with neighborhood objectives; and, finally, to provide to the rest of the country an example of what planning with people can do in an older and blighted neighborhood.

To this end, the rehabilitation of over 70% of present South End dwellings is a principal goal of the renewal planning process

PROJECT: Washington Park

SIZE: 502 Acres

STATUS: The urban renewal plan has been approved, the loan and grant contract executed, and project execution is well underway

FEDERAL GRANT: \$16,552,557

A. State Share: \$ 4,334,898

B. City Share: \$ 5,339,877

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$25,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. The rehabilitation of some 6,500 dwelling units.
2. Over 1500 units of new low and moderate-income housing.
3. Three new elementary schools.
4. New recreational facilities.
5. New Y.M.C.A.
6. New Civic Center combining municipal field offices, new police station, new courthouse, new branch library, and the new Roxbury Boys' Club.
7. New community and neighborhood shopping areas.
8. Traffic improvements.
9. New churches.

SUMMARY

Washington Park is, in many ways, a showcase project. The Washington Park neighborhood represents a large portion of the Roxbury-North Dorchester area, and the urban renewal program now in execution is a demonstration that renewal can be accomplished by the people in an area planning for themselves what their neighborhood will be and then being actively involved in carrying out their plan. The Washington Park urban renewal plan emphasizes the rehabilitation of 75 percent out of the existing housing. It provides the opportunity to show that relocation can be considerate of human values, through its understanding of human needs, and effective marshalling of adequate housing resources for those who must be displaced. It is the first project in Boston where new schools, new recreational facilities, expanded public services, convenient and attractive retail opportunities, and moderate income housing, are being provided in combination with a major conservation and rehabilitation effort.

PROJECT: Downtown Waterfront-Faneuil Hall

SIZE: 100 Acres

STATUS: Project in execution stage

FEDERAL GRANT: \$16,485,200

A. State Share: \$ 3,840,050

B. City Share: \$ 3,840,050

PRIVATE INVESTMENT: \$100,000,000
(estimated)

RE-USE PLAN:

1. Approximately 1600 units of new and rehabilitated housing along the Waterfront with a wide diversity in rents, types and sizes.
2. Up to 400 units of moderate-income housing to be provided in new and rehabilitated buildings.
3. Sites for the expansion of the financial district at lower State Street.
4. At least 500,000 square feet of office space, including a major new office building to serve the New England Telephone Company.
5. A \$4.3 million ultra-modern aquarium.
6. Improved traffic patterns.
7. Off-street parking.
8. The provision of such public amenities as walkways and parks.
9. Historic conservation in the Faneuil Hall and Union-Blackstone Streets area.

TAX IMPACT: After redevelopment is completed, it is expected that tax assessments will be more than double.

SUMMARY

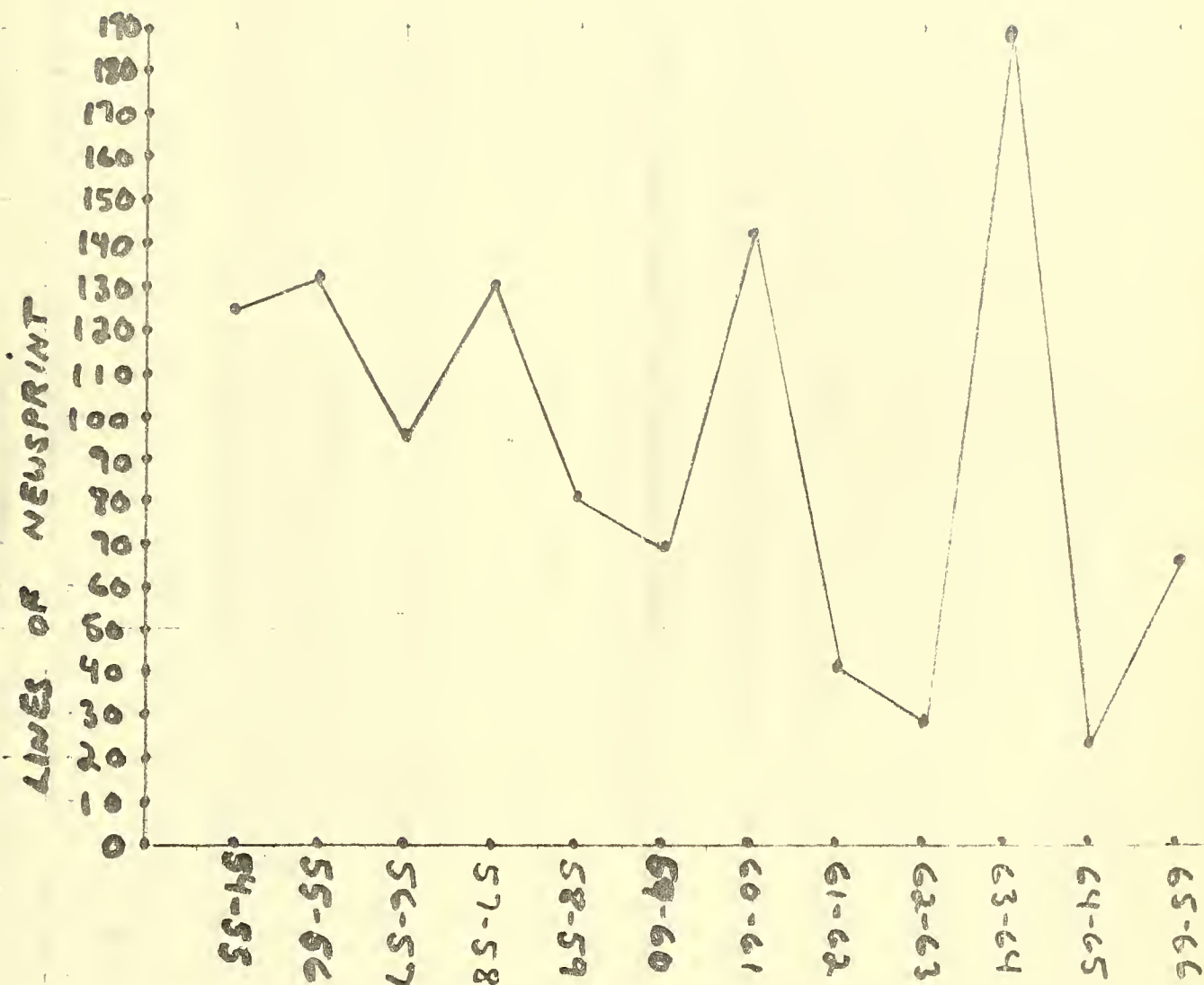
The Waterfront Renewal Project extends from the Coast Guard base to the Fort Point Channel on the harborside, and inland to include Faneuil Hall and the Blackstone-Hanover Street block. The urban renewal program in this area will eliminate existing blight and attract private investment on a large scale, strengthening the city's economic base and providing a new symbol of the resurgence of the city and its port. The program will create a waterfront residential community with a wide range of rental categories close to Downtown, and will increase visitor traffic to the city through provision of recreation facilities and accommodations for tourists. The renewal of this area will reinforce such neighboring districts as the Government Center, the Financial District, and the North End.

Academic Years	PAGE ONE			OTHER PAGES			SUB-TOTAL				TOTAL			
	G'	H'	P'	G	H	R	P	G	H	R	P	P.1	OTHER TOTAL	PHOTO
1954-55	216	216	102	226	226	413	226	242	1042	521	1042	756	2821	25
1955-56	236	236	113	286	184	471	784	1310	1210	625	1210	991	3442	17
1956-57	151	151	75	285	885	442		1036	518			377	2312	20
1957-58	257	257	130	854	854	427		113	556			648	2352	18
1959	130	130	65	532	632	319		768	384			365	1575	12
1959-60	110	110	55	472	472	246		622	301			275	1322	15
1960-61	114	114	57	272	272	136		386	193			285	680	8
1961-62	92	92	49	544	244	452		742	471			245	2110	20
1962-63	27	27	44	952	752	479		345	532			318	2325	15
1963-64	150	150	75	85	85	43		335	117			375	610	12
1964-65	46	46	23	503	503	252		547	252			115	1312	5
1965-66	100	100	50	506	506	253		609	330			332	1845	1
ALL YEARS			552	7247	7247	3923	1210	4367	4783	2252	4542	31467	2391	170

- 1 Boston Globe - actual count
- 2 Boston Herald - estimate based on Globe count
- 3 Boston Record - " " " "
- 4 Boston Post - " " " "

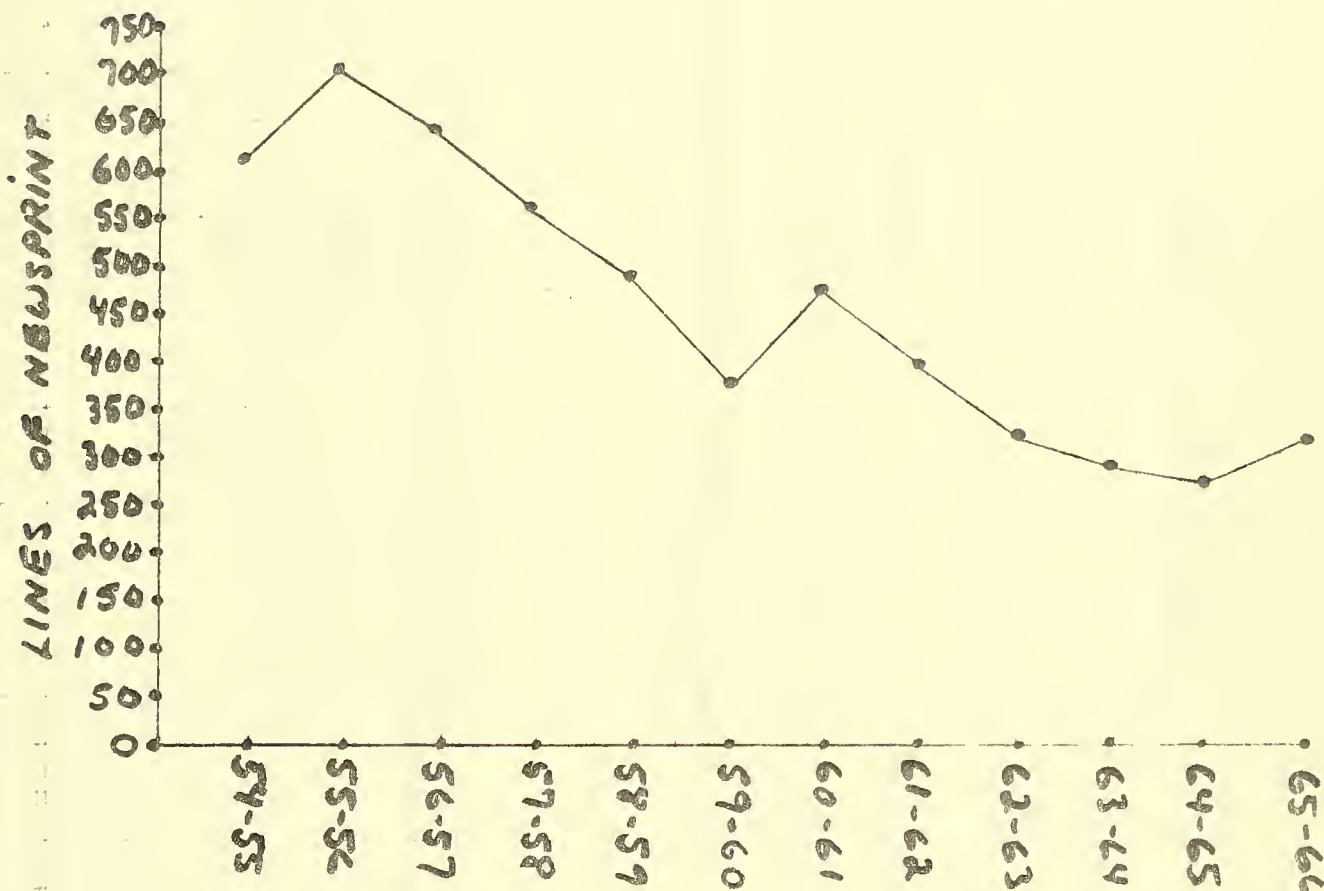
APPENDIX D

NUMBER OF LINES OF NEWSPRINT PER
SEMINAR SERIES, 1954-1966



APPENDIX D, CONTINUED

APPROXIMATE AVERAGE NUMBER OF LINES
OF PAGE ONE NEWSPRINT PER SEMINAR,
ALL NEWSPAPERS, 1954-1966. BASED ON
BOSTON GLOBE NEWSPRINT LINEAGE
COUNTS, 1954-1966.



APPENDIX D, CONTINUED

APPROXIMATE AVERAGE NUMBER OF LINES
OF TOTAL NEWSPRINT PER SEMINAR,
ALL BOSTON NEWSPAPERS, 1954-66.
BASED ON BOSTON GLOBE NEWS-
PRINT LINEAGE COUNTS,
1954-1966.

APPENDIX V
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOSTON COLLEGE,
THE SEMINARS, AND THE CITIZENS
ADVISORY COUNCIL

1. Mrs Allen Morse, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Housing, CAC

The seminars have been guiding forces to the CAC, providing direction, help, and impetus. They held the CAC together, by providing a framework in which the CAC received encouragement, almost a "breath of life."

Re. Fr. Joyce's tenure as Chairman : this was beneficial to the CAC, not harmful. Fr. Joyce should make stronger efforts in providing leadership to the CAC, not less. CAC must have more vigorous leadership if it is to have any meaning.

Re. Seminar-type format of CAC meetings: This can be argued both ways. The talk-bar-dinner format was advantageous, but not so much to "grass-roots" people. There is a great problem in catering to the enormous representation of a large city. Some variation in the CAC meeting format is needed. Not too much serious thought has been given to the "falling back" on B.C., but the advantages and disadvantages should be determined.

2. Mr. John McMorro, Assistant Development Administrator, BRA

There has been no formal relationship between the B.C Seminars and the CAC.

CAC has coincidentally (because of Fr. Joyce's two chairmanships) used B.C. facilities and occasionally the Seminar format. In only one instance did a Seminar coincide with a CAC meeting. The association of the CAC with B.C. was advantageous because CAC was able to draw upon Fr. Joyce's experience in running the Seminars. The location was a distinct advantage, as was the opportunity to work with a university in attacking community problems. There

was no disadvantage to "falling back" on B.C. as a CAC meeting site. The conversations exchanged at the social hours and dinners were as worthwhile as the meetings themselves. The mixture of people, i.e., a bank president sitting next to a South End neighborhood association representative, was advantageous. More and more of such sessions are needed, maybe less formally.

3. Mr. Thomas Sullivan, Harvard Graduate School of Education

There was very little involvement at one level, and over-involvement at another level. The latter reference is the way the meetings of CAC were so "dependent" on B.C., and due to Fr. Joyce's long tenure as CAC director.

The CAC was formed late in 1963. Because of B.C.'s experience at running the Seminars, and their apparent success, CAC meetings adopted the same format of talks, bar hour, and dinner.

This led to confusion because of Fr. Joyce's involvement in both the Seminars and the CAC meetings, and the similarity in the manner in which the Seminars and CAC meetings were conducted.

Mr. Sullivan had always believed that B.C. was picking up the tab, and was surprised to discover that B.C. and Ford Foundation money was not paying the bar and dinner bill. Rather the PRA was paying the bills.

The above-mentioned confusion was aggravated because downtown people (those who attended Seminars) tended to be CAC advisors.

Mr. Sullivan at first said he wasn't sure whether the overlap helped or hurt. Many stopped attending when the bar was eliminated. He wanted to get the CAC away from B.C., but CAC didn't have much money, and B.C. was hard to replace as a meeting-place. Other

"non B.C." CAC meetings were held, but never with as much ease and convenience as the B.C. meetings. He believes the over-identification of the CAC with B.C., as well as Fr. Joyce's lengthy tenure as CAC Chairman, hurt CAC.

4. Mr. Douglas Cochrane, Ropes and Gray Attorneys

The relationship has been beneficial, especially at the outset. CAC probably couldn't have gotten started without B.C. The benefits of the relationship have continued up until the present. B.C. is still doing everything in its power to be of assistance.

5. Mr. Bryan Kelly, PRA Location Officer

The initial idea of having clerical leadership of CAC was quite sound. Fr. Joyce is a person exceptionally knowledgeable of urban affairs. But it would have been wise if someone else had taken his place later.

People were happy to meet at B.C. It was convenient and safe, but after a while it seemed to become a mold. A suggestion to move the meetings to a Roxbury site, such as the YMCA, was not well taken, even by CAC members themselves. The majority were fearful of the chance of vandalism to their cars or personal injury if they met in Roxbury.

The meal format was a favorable factor in the meetings at B.C. Here was a good opportunity for a wide variety of people to sit down, to initiate and cement relationships, and to discuss the issues from many viewpoints.

Unfortunately, the people who came to CAC meetings at B.C. did not comprise the group which at least theoretically, according to Federal Government regulation, should have included a diversity of views on urban renewal. The great majority of those in attendance

tended to be "yes men" as far as their criticism of urban renewal was concerned.

In summary, the relationship between the CAC and B.C. was helpful in CAC's earliest days, but declined when the two became too closely interwoven.

6. Mr. William Chouinard, Director of Community Development, Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce.

In many cities, the citizen's advisory committee doesn't perform a meaningful function, unless it is well-guided. It is demanding to have an effective city-wide organization of this type unless you have a strong institution such as B.C. behind it. From this standpoint, the relationship has been beneficial.

However, CAC itself has not been much more than a sounding board, a means of keeping people informed to the major projects and goals of the BRA. Because of this, many have been disappointed.

The Seminar format opens things up, gets a lot of people together. The social and dinner hours are very effective, and seem to get as much done as the lecture sessions.

F. Joyce has served as a bridge between various groups, from the downtown people to the neighborhood people. It would be very difficult to select a person who could fill this role as well as he. Since the person who fills this role has to be above suspicion, a businessman or politician would not be as satisfactory.

7. Muriel Snowden, Freedom House, Roxbury, formerly of Relocation and Rehabilitation Committee, CAC.

Fr. Joyce's Chairmanship and the use of the Seminar format were one way, and an effective one, of getting CAC "off the ground", getting it started "in full flight." In the beginning, it was logical for Fr. Joyce to be the Chairman, because of his apparent success in the B.C. Seminars. There has been no evidence since that time that CAC has been hurt in any way by Fr. Joyce's chairmanship or the Seminar format. The relationship overall has been beneficial to CAC. But as in such things, there is a time limit on how long the relationship will continue to be beneficial. (Mrs. Snowden left CAC some time ago, and has not attended CAC meetings for the past 3 or 4 meetings.)

The Seminar format was a way to get a lot of information out to a lot of people, but sometimes there was just too much to absorb. At the bar and dinner hours there was quite active conversation; people tended to argue over dinner. Perhaps more benefits were derived from this than from the lecture session. If B.C. had not been available as a meeting location CAC "would probable be still looking."

8. Rev. Robert Drinan, S.J., Dean, Boston College Law School

The relationship between B.C. and the CAC was helpful. Because Sullivan was ineffective, the CAC ground to a halt, and was never used as much as it could have been.

9. Michael Peabody, Interfaith Housing Corp.

The CAC could have been effective, but never was. Its structure and size limited its usefulness.

Ed Logue for a long time fought against the formation of a CAC, even though Federal urban renewal regulations required it. The CAC was only formed after the Urban League exerted pressure

on the HHFAregional office, insisting that it require Boston to create one. The choice of CAC members belonged to Logue and Mayor Collins. They subsequently structured a CAC which could not be effective, because of its size (over 750 members) and composition. At a meeting at B.C. huge committees were formed, but no staff. The top men—Sullivan, Olsen, Fr. Joyce had powers of no real latitude, and thus had no opportunity to be effective. Logue did not even consider the CAC a sounding board. It was simply a group to which he explained his plans. The CAC Executive Committee offered a few weak suggestions, but had no influence.

Mr. Peabody, chairman of a subcommittee on minority housing, explained that his group worked to come up with ideas, but that it was clear that nothing could be accomplished.

To be effective, the CAC must be a separate organization, and well staffed.

The relationship of the CAC with those conducting the Boston College seminars neither helped nor hurt CAC.

II SUMMARY

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN B.C. AND CAC:

HELPFUL FROM OUTSET	5
HARMFUL FROM OUTSET	0
NEITHER	1
HELPFUL ONLY AT FIRST	3
WRONG PEOPLE ON CAC	3

Five of the nine persons interviewed felt that the relationship with Boston College has been beneficial to the CAC. The reasons most commonly given for this included Fr. Joyce's respected position and ability to serve as a bridge between social groups, the attractiveness and convenience of B.C.'s physical facilities, and the bar hour and dinner which permit the relaxed exchange of ideas.

Three persons believed that although B.C. was initially providing a valuable service to the CAC, that this benefit has decreased. The need for new leadership was cited, as was the overdependence on B.C. on the part of the CAC.

The composition of the CAC was questioned by three persons, who felt generally that prominent business persons were present in too great number, and that the persons for whose benefit urban renewal was supposedly being undertaken were under-represented. The final interview held, that being with Mr. Peabody^{produced a general condemnation} of CAC structure, composition, and authority. Mr. Peabody, despite his strong statements on these matters, felt that its relationship with B.C. had neither helped nor hurt the CAC.

AUTHOR'S COMMENTS:

It appears that the Seminar format, B.C.'s physical facilities, and Fr. Joyce's leadership was, and still is, adequate to a satisfactory segment of those persons who have been closely associated with the CAC. However, there is an element which seems to feel that new leadership and meeting places need to be found, and that the composition of the CAC should be re-evaluated. It ^{ALL CAC MEMBERS BE POLLED CONCERNING} is suggested that ^Atheir feeling on the subject of the future utility of Boston College, and that minority group organizations, militant as well as moderate, be consulted concerning whether they feel their representation on the CAC is adequate.

